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VOL. XXII, No. 2 FEBRUARY, 1943

THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

CONTENTS

The New Stage of the War in Europe	*Eugene Dennis*	99
France's Hour Has Struck	*Andre Marty*	114
Some Problems of Centralized War Production	*V. J. Jerome*	126
Lincoln, Roosevelt and the Fifth Column	*Milton Howard*	135
The Nation and the Armed Forces	*Max Weiss*	146
The President's Message to Congress	*Louis F. Budenz*	157
Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Relations	*Peter Kerrigan*	165
The Communist Party of Great Britain on the Beveridge Proposals		168
Manifesto to the German People and the German Army		175
An Appeal to the People of Italy		181
Book Review		185

Entered as second class matter November 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. THE COMMUNIST is published Monthly by Workers Library Publishers, Inc., at 832 Broadway, New York, N. Y. (mail address, P. O. Box 148, Station D), to whom subscriptions, payments and correspondence should be sent. Subscription rate: $2.00 a year; $1.00 for six months; foreign and Canada $2.50 a year. Single copies 20 cents.

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THE NEW STAGE OF THE WAR IN EUROPE

BY EUGENE DENNIS

STALINGRAD, Leningrad and Moscow! Odessa and Sevastopol!

The Red Army, celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary this February 23 in a mighty offensive under Stalin's genius and intrepid leadership, has indelibly engraved these names in the hearts and minds of all freedom-loving people.

For the epic defense of Sevastopol, Stalingrad and the North Caucasus in 1942, like the historic defense of Odessa, Leningrad and Moscow in 1941—and the great Soviet offensives of last winter and now—are signal landmarks in the people's war of national liberation. They are symbols of the immortal struggle of the Soviet people and its Red Army against the Hitlerites and their barbaric "new order." They are the forerunners of a free Paris, Warsaw and Prague, and of an anti-Nazi Berlin and Rome. They are signposts on the highway of mankind's road to victory over fascist tyranny, to ensure national freedom, liberty and progress to the peoples and nations enslaved and threatened by Hitlerism.

Today, as the Soviet offensive drives on, as America and Britain prepare to extend the highly significant operations launched in North Africa, and consequently as the prospects of a United Nations' victory grow brighter, it is necessary to take stock, to realistically estimate the situation so as more effectively to proceed to the speediest fulfillment of the unsolved as well as the urgent new tasks which now confront our people and nation and all the other United Nations.

It is imperative to do this because the present military successes of the Red Army, coupled with the initial successes of the American and British operations in North Africa and New Guinea, are so impressive and promising that some people in the anti-Hitler camp in the United States are being lulled into a sense of false security. Some are becoming victims of defeatist-inspired passivity and complacency, and seem content to cheer our Soviet ally from the sidelines, to "praise the Lord"—but without passing the ammunition.

In this connection, it should be remembered that the Munichites and the other appeasers are not only purveyors of dark pessimism and outright defeatism per se, but likewise they try to foster irrational optimism and over-confidence so as to delay and obstruct an all-out military offensive, so as to halt the launching of the second front in Europe, so as to divert public attention and to create disunity and internal strife over post-war

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"plans," as well as over "domestic" issues, so as to promote a "negotiated peace" with the Axis, a "conditional peace" à la Hoover.

And some honest but confused patriots are falling into the trap. Many are becoming intoxicated with the recent changes in the military situation, and are inclined to turn their attention away from the central and decisive military-political tasks which lie ahead, especially from the need of developing a closer and more unified Allied strategy and common fighting action in the decisive European theater of the war. Many are tending to lose themselves in politics and business-as-usual activities, or in controversies over hypothetical problems of the morrow, pertaining to the future organization of post-war peace and reconstruction — forgetting that without the military defeat of Hitler's Axis, without the annihilation of the Hitlerites, there can be no victory, no freedom, no just and durable peace.

Others in the camp of national unity, however, are extremely pessimistic and circumscribed in their approach, are limited in their understanding and perspective. They are disposed to doubt the possibilities of delivering the decisive blows against Hitler this year. They are inclined to minimize the favorable possibilities now existing for accelerating Hitler's defeat in 1943. Consequently they tend to delay the development of a coordinated and all-out military offensive by all the United Nations now, and orientate on achieving victory in 1944 or later.

In view of this it is necessary that we analyze the present moment in the war and take our bearings. This is doubly urgent so that we may utilize the favorable turn in the war now taking place and move full speed ahead, so as to guarantee that the prerequisites which now exist for smashing Hitler and Hitlerism in 1943 shall be seized and utilized in time by all the peoples and the entire anti-Hitler coalition.

* * *

By the end of 1942 a profound change had taken place in the war, in the relationship of military forces in Europe. Following the stubborn defensive battles of the summer and autumn, the Red Army launched powerful offensives in the Stalingrad area, on the Central Front, in the Middle Don and in the Northern Caucasus.

Along with these key blows, the Italian-German coalition suffered a series of defeats on a number of other fronts. There was the rout of Rommel's forces in Egypt. There were the successful Anglo-American operations in Morocco and Algiers, and the advance on Tunis. There are the first steps to form in North Africa a sizable anti-Hitler French Army. Dakar, which the fascists intended to convert into a base for their operations in the Battle of the Atlantic, and as a potential springboard for attacking the Americas, now has become a base for America's armed forces.

After two and a half years of struggle for the French navy the Hitler imperialists failed in their objectives, as a result of the pa-

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triotic and anti-Hitler stand of the French sailors and officers, the Toulon workers, as well as a result of the disintegration of the Vichy regime and policy. It is true that France lost the major part of her navy, but in so doing France regained her national honor and dignity, besmirched by the Quislings and capitulators of Vichy.

If we add all these things up, including the potent fact that the conditions for creating and carrying through the second front in Europe closer to the vital centers of Germany have now become much closer and easier of fulfillment, especially since America and Britain now have powerful bases in Africa as well as in England, we will correctly conclude that by the end of 1942 a radical change had taken place in the entire course of the war—a change which was clearly signalized and outlined by Stalin in his letter to Mr. Cassidy on November 14, 1942.

Though it is beyond the scope of this article to deal with the situation in the Middle and Far East, one may note in passing that on the Southwestern Pacific front of the global war, there, too, certain changes were and are in the making, though of a limited and secondary nature in comparison with the radical changes which have taken and are taking place in Europe and on the decisive front of the global war—on the Soviet-German front. In Midway, the Coral Sea, the Solomons and New Guinea, American and Allied forces have successfully repulsed the Japanese militarist-fascists, and have appreciably impaired the naval power of Japan. And in China, its heroic armies and peoples virtually single-handed have made certain headway against the Japanese invaders, have strengthened their national unity, and are now in a position to strike heavy blows against Hitler's partner in Asia, particularly if the strategy of the American and British forces in the Southwestern Pacific and in India is coordinated with that of our valiant Chinese ally.

What, we may ask, is responsible for this changed and changing military-political situation in the main theater of the war in Europe? This new relation of forces in Europe has been brought about by the patriotic, self-sacrificing and resolute struggle of the anti-Hitler forces on the field of battle, and primarily by the matchless struggle of the Red Army. In particular this new situation has been brought about by the unprecedented heroism and defense of Stalingrad which, as Stalin analyzed in his historic address on November 6, 1942, predetermined the defeat of Hitler's strategic plans for 1942.

It is likewise the result of the unparalleled fortitude, skill and selfless struggle of the free Soviet people in the rear, in all the national republics, in the occupied territories, and in every field of Soviet endeavor. It is the result of the wise and steadfast leadership of Stalin at the head of the Soviet government, of the brave and exemplary struggle of countless Soviet partisans, of the magnificent labor heroism of the Soviet workers and collective farmers, of the employees and intellectuals, who have performed new

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miracles in socialist production and construction, in providing everything for the front, for victory.

This change in the situation was also facilitated by the activity and the struggle of other millions of people, by the unyielding activity of the anti-Hitlerites in all countries of the world. It was facilitated by the glorious struggle of the Yugoslav guerrillas in their national liberation front and army and by the fighting partisans of Poland, Norway and Greece. It was facilitated by the heroic action of the French sailors and metal workers, the Belgian and Luxembourg mine workers and the Greek longshoremen, all of whom utilized the weapons of mass strike and organized sabotage against the Hitlerites and their Quislings.

The change in the situation was likewise facilitated by the growing struggle and the patriotic anti-Hitler activity of labor and the people in the United States and Great Britain. It was and is advanced by the patriotic Americans and Britons who are forging the instruments of war essential for destroying Hitler's Axis. It was and is facilitated by the greatest activity of labor and the people, including the Communists, especially by the powerful mass movement launched during 1942 for the opening of the Western Front. And this movement, it is now clear, played an indispensable role in helping influence the foreign policy and the subsequent military operations of our country, in helping counteract the policies of the small but extremely active and powerful clique of Munichites.

Last but not least, the new changes which have taken place in the situation were prepared by the growing collaboration among all members of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, by the strengthening of our alliance, by the realization of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance and the American-Soviet Lend-Lease Agreement. It was facilitated by the common skill, determination and high level of our respective military organizations, and above all by the fact that during 1942 the first beginnings of coordinated warfare against Hitler Germany and fascist Italy began to materialize through mass Allied air raids and the launching of the Anglo-American offensive in North Africa in November.

The great offensive of the Red Army in the Stalingrad, Central Front, the Middle Don and the Leningrad areas, as well as the military action of the American and British troops in North Africa, created for Hitler Germany and her European allies a situation the like of which they have never faced before.

In contrast to last winter, when the Red Army undertook its counter-offensive in one principal direction, this year the Red Army advances on the five most important fronts. Unlike last year, in this offensive the German casualties are far heavier, and tens and tens of thousands of German soldiers are surrendering, are being captured; furthermore, vast stores of booty also are being taken. Moreover, key fortified centers of great strategic importance, like Velikie Luki

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and Schluesselburg, are being taken. The Red Army is now more experienced, skillful and resourceful, and has greater reserves, maneuverability and striking power.

It is true that the Hitler army is still strong. But its strength already has been seriously undermined. Hitler's army is no longer the same as last year and, following the defeat of Hitler's main plans in 1942, as in 1941, the relation of forces between the Red Army and the German army has definitely changed in favor of the Soviet Union. And this again reveals the increasing strength of the Soviet system, the growing power of the Soviet Army and its reserves, the high morale and unbreakable solidarity and unity of the Soviet people, who are firmly united around their Soviet government of free workers and peasants, led by Stalin.

Even though the Second Front in Europe has not yet materialized, already it should be noted that the present Red Army offensive, the African operations and the preparations for and the growing threat of the second front in Europe make it more difficult for Hitler Germany to maneuver its reserves. It compels the Nazis to scatter their forces and particularly their equipment, from Petsamo to the Black Sea, from Leningrad to Marseilles, from Denmark to the Balkans and, while the main forces of Hitler are still deployed on the Soviet-German front, this new situation makes it more difficult for the Nazis to concentrate to the same extent as heretofore all their forces on one single front.

This growing necessity to scatter her forces will yet become one of the main causes for Germany's final defeat in the war. Especially will this be so when the second front in Europe is opened, when Hitler will be compelled to divide his main forces and fight on two fronts in Europe. For, if this materializes in the near future, while the Soviet offensive is under way, 1943 can mark the destruction of Hitler's army and state and "new order."

* * *

The successful operations of the Red Army, the advances of the British and American forces in Africa, as well as the mass air raids on Germany and Italy, have strengthened the fighting spirit of all anti-Hitler armies and the determination of all peoples oppressed by Hitlerism. Further, these military operations have resulted in a situation where the initiative has now been wrested from the Hitler command. Meanwhile the reverses of fascist Germany have lowered the fighting spirit in Hitler's army and in the German rear, and particularly they have undermined the spirit and morale of the armies of Hitler's allies.

The war has entered its decisive stage. The period of developing the strategic offensive by all freedom-loving peoples and nations against fascist Germany and her allies has now arrived. This is true not only for the decisive powers in the United Nations coalition, not only for the people in the occupied countries, not only for the neutral

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countries. It is also true in respect to the satellites of Hitler and of the camp of Nazi Germany itself. The recent anti-Hitler conference held in the Rhineland, and the manifesto published by the anti-fascist and opposition elements attending the conference, representing diverse political groupings and social strata within Germany, bear witness to this development. And this maturing national front movement is advancing the struggle within Germany to put an end to Hitler's predatory war, to overthrow Hitler and to establish a national democratic peace government.

Thus, at the beginning of 1943 a radical change has taken place not only in the military situation but no less basic changes have occurred in the political situation as a whole. The Italian-German coalition finds itself in a very difficult position. This disintegration, which Stalin noted in November, is proceeding at a comparatively rapid pace and the real possibility exists for breaking up this coalition into its separate parts, of completely isolating Nazi Germany and thereby hastening its military destruction.

For instance, the turn of the war on the Eastern Front and particularly the developing Anglo-American operations in North Africa have raised as an immediate prospect the possibility of knocking Italy out of the war. Italy represented one of the weakest links in the Hitler system even before the new military-political situation arose. And the change in the international situation tells particularly on Italy, the vassal of Hitler Germany.

Italy is actually on the verge of complete economic ruin and catastrophe. Italy has become the target of heavy Allied air raids. And the prospect exists that in the very near future Italy may become the arena of military operations for Allied land troops. The crisis in Italy has reached the stage where various circles in the army command, in the monarchy, in the Church and within the fascist organizations themselves—not to speak of the anti-fascist masses and organizations whose activity and unity are growing—are more and more arriving at the conclusion that the only way to save the country is to break their military alliance with Hitler Germany and withdraw from the war.

Also, as a result of the blows of the Red Army, disintegration and an internal crisis are growing in Hungary and Rumania, and despair is gripping the other vassals of Hitler, such as Finland and Bulgaria. As a result strong opposition tendencies are maturing even within influential ruling circles, and the popular movement for the creation of a national front of independence and peace, for breaking the suicidal alliance with Hitler and for withdrawing from Hitler's war, is entering a new phase within these countries.

Moreover, the weakened position and the increased internal disintegration of the Italo-German coalition account for the failure of Hitler's threats, provocations and economic pressure to draw the so-called neutral states into Hitler's predatory war. The changed relation of

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forces internationally infuses many of the leading circles in these neutral states with a certain immunity to Hitler's blackmail. It encourages the pro-United Nations forces, especially broad masses of the people, to reassert themselves, to come forward more boldly in unity of struggle against the Axis. This is particularly the case in respect to Turkey, Switzerland and Chile, and it is also true in some respects of Sweden and Argentina.

If certain governmental forces in these neutral states are turning away from fascist Germany, abandoning any hope or expectations of victory for the Axis, this does not signify, however, that Hitler will leave them in peace. On the contrary, with the growing military and political difficulties now facing the Italo-German coalition, the greater will be the pressure exerted by the Hitler imperialists on the neutral countries. Certainly Hitler will not hesitate to use military force to try and coerce and occupy some of these countries, such as Spain, Turkey and Sweden.

However, such adventures will not save Hitler from defeat. These will merely lead to the further scattering of his forces. They will increase the number of his active enemies. They will intensify the hatred of additional peoples for Nazi Germany, as the occupation of Vichy France has stirred and further united all French patriots. And if this situation would be forestalled or countered in time by the resolute military action of the United States and Great Britain, such adventurous moves would inevitably further hasten the downfall of Hitler's Axis.

It is clear that the new military-political situation created in Europe at the end of 1942 opens prospects for realizing in all of the occupied countries effective and successful armed struggle on a wider scale than has been possible heretofore. It makes possible the striking of decisive blows for national freedom, the waging of a mighty national liberation war like the heroic people of Yugoslavia, which can help bring about the destruction of Hitler and his "new order" in 1943. This is particularly true in connection with France, Poland and some of the Balkan countries.

It is likewise and especially clear that the changed and changing relation of forces in the decisive European theater of war, a change in favor of the Soviet Union and all the United Nations, opens the way for the entire anti-Hitler coalition, in concerted fighting action, to retain and to utilize the initiative which it now has. *It provides a new and priceless opportunity for America and Britain fully to synchronize their strategy and military offensives with that of the U.S.S.R., to take steps to give German fascist imperialism no chance to recover,* to prevent Hitler from taking advantage of continued inaction on the western front so as to try and accumulate new strength and to prepare for new thrusts.

In short, the present situation opens the way for winning victory over Hitler in 1943, especially if there is established a more unified Allied strategy, if there is realized

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in time closer and more effective coalition warfare by all members of the Anglo-Soviet-American alliance on the European continent.

And the conditions for realizing this are undoubtedly improving, as recent military-political developments (including the latest press reports regarding current negotiations and projected agreements between the Allied governments), seem to confirm.

* * *

There can be no doubt but that the prerequisites have been created for victory in 1943. Yet victory will not come of its own accord. It still has to be fought for. The Hitler beast is seriously wounded, is growing weaker, but it is still resisting desperately and fanatically.

In this connection we and other anti-fascists are not unmindful of the fact that victory was possible in 1942 and that only the absence of a western front prevented its realization.

Today, of course, the military-political situation is different from what it was a year ago. The relations between and among the American-Soviet-British coalition and the other United Nations have been strengthened and a closer coordination of their combined military efforts seem in the process of realization. But, above all, the relation of forces on the Soviet-German front has greatly changed. And the outcome of the present offensive of the Red Army is destined to be quantitatively and, above all, qualitatively different from what it was last winter. The current Soviet offensive opens new perspectives for the speediest destruction of Hitlerism. Yet it is crystal clear that the task of organizing a second front in Europe nearer to Germany's strategic centers remains one of the *decisive* factors for securing victory over Hitlerism in 1943. It is a vital keystone for strengthening the fighting alliance of the United Nations and for accelerating the crushing of Hitlerism. It is one of the most effective ways to reinforce the present and future collaboration of all the United Nations.

What, we may ask, are the perspectives for an Anglo-American invasion of the European continent? There is no doubt that the prospects for opening the second front are improving. For one thing, the unprecedented results of the Soviet offensive, as well as the upsurge and the scope of the armed struggles of the peoples in the occupied countries, tend to facilitate the plans and to accelerate the present preparations which America and Britain are making for establishig a second front on the European continent.

Secondly, the unfoldment of the Anglo-American operations in Africa, which facilitates the development of a more unified strategy and a greater degree of coordinated fighting action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, and which establishes a new strategic base of Anglo-American operations for attacking Hitler in Europe, the progress in armament production during the past year in Britain and the U.S.A., etc.—all this has brought closer the launching by Britain and America of major land operations

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in Europe. And at this writing, in mid-January, it cannot be excluded that certain surprises in this connection are in the making.

Moreover, as the President's message to Congress on January 7 indicated, our government has reaffirmed its strong determination to extend its offensive against the Axis enemy, to concentrate its main blows against Hitler Germany, to reinforce the alliance of the United Nations.

However, our people, our nation cannot indulge in or succumb to any complacency, especially today when so far our entire A.E.F. is engaging fewer Nazi troops on the battle fronts than the Yugoslavian partisans. To adopt a passive or a waiting attitude to the supremely vital question of creating the Western Front immediately would have grave consequences for our national security, would delay victory.

The question remains, not whether the second front will be opened, for this it will: *the question still is, when, how soon, and with what force?*

While the prospects are becoming more favorable for resolving this central military-political question *sooner rather than later*, everything must still be done to guarantee the most energetic prosecution of the war, on the part of America and Britain, now, during the present Soviet offensive, especially during the first quarter of 1943, which is so vital and opportune for delivering heavy blows against Hitler.

Moreover, while the orientation of the President is to speed the extension of our military offensive into the heart of Europe, and while preparations are proceeding accordingly, it must be noted that there is not yet full comprehension in certain leading circles in London and Washington of the urgency of the moment, of the burning aspect of the *time factor,* of the need of fully synchronizing our offensive action with that of our Soviet Ally. There are certain tendencies even within some circles of the anti-Hitler camp to consider that, in view of the changed situation on the Soviet-German front, there is no need to strain American and Britain's war efforts to achieve a total war effort and an all-out military offensive, that the second front can be opened at "leisure," later rather than sooner. There are some who, influenced by Munichmen, entertain the idea that we can "let the Red Army break Hitler's back, and then we can march into Europe practically unopposed at a future date, and in a dominant position to determine post-war developments."

Furthermore, there is the fact that the aggressive fighting mood and offensive orientation expressed by the President in his January message to Congress are in jeopardy of being delayed and undermined by internal reaction, by the renewed activities of the defeatists and obstructionists within and out of Congress. This danger has become more and not less menacing since the November elections, as Comrade Browder has signalized. Especially is this true since the latest developments on the Soviet-German front as a result of which the Axis and its political counterparts in the

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United States have prepared to renew their desperate, cunning and vigorous political offensive for a "negotiated peace." In new and old ways and forms, by paying lip service to the nation's war objectives, they are trying to seize on mistakes and weaknesses on the military and the civilian fronts to organize division, class strife and partisan differences, in order to try and disrupt the unity of the United Nations and the unity within the United Nations.

It must be clear to all patriotic Americans, especially to all consistent anti-fascists, that any tendency or move to try and conciliate or compromise with Hitler and the Axis, and with the pro-fascists and reactionaries within our own country, with the du Ponts, Hearsts and Crawfords, and with their political spokesmen like the Hoovers, Vandenbergs and Tafts, the Wheelers, Reynoldses, and Dieses, that this would have the most serious consequences for the prosecution of our nation's war effort, for the national safety and future of our country, for victory. Or, to place the issue conversely, it is becoming increasingly clear that the further unfoldment of America's military policy will be greatly affected by the scope and character of the struggle which the government and people will carry forward against internal reaction, against the appeasers and obstructionists, especially by the struggle they wage against the defeatists and reactionaries in the 78th Congress.

* * *

In the present crucial situation, in view of the changes in the war, it is essential that the entire nation, that all patriotic Americans, especially the working class, should be aroused to the urgency of the moment, to the need of maintaining and extending the military-political initiative which now rests in the hands of the United Nations.

This especially requires that the United States and Great Britain should strengthen at all costs their main military bases in England and North Africa, and above all should immediately undertake a direct attack on the European continent, either from the west, north and/or the south. They should prosecute and expand the African offensive with the utmost vigor and boldness, in unison with the Soviet offensive, so as to rapidly attain its major objectives, whch lie in the European theater of the war.

In this connection it is becoming clear to millions that the launching of the second front or fronts in Europe is not contingent upon the completion of military operations in North Africa. Nor is the attack in the west dependent upon the consummation of certain deals now in the process of negotiation with various opposition elements in Italy and Germany, irrespective of the possible value and expediency which such deals may offer.

To expedite the offensive against Hitler Germany, it is extremely important that public expression of the existing mass, popular support for the offensive policy outlined in the President's message to Congress on January 7 should be encouraged and organized. Everything should be done to reinforce the mass public

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campaign for the second front now, to explain why America's national interests require the immediate creation of a second front in Europe, and why and how a major attack now against Hitler in the west in conjunction with the Soviet offensive, will ensure Hitler's downfall in 1943. And in this connection, it is also necessary to strengthen the mass movement for breaking America's relations with the pro-Hitler, Ryti-Mannerheim government of Finland, and for pursuing a much firmer anti-Hitler policy toward Franco Spain.

Labor and the people are now called upon to vigorously and unitedly support and implement the government's war policies more than ever before, particularly around a common political-legislative program, such as advanced by the C.I.O., and in fact better and more actively than the Administration frequently does itself. This is necessary so as to encourage the Administration to openly and forcefully challenge and take the fight more resolutely and energetically against the defeatists, so as to implement the nation's war policy.

Labor and the people are now called upon to act with greater *tempo and unity*, so as to strengthen the anti-fascist unity of the nation, so as to help influence the government to achieve a greater unification of Allied strategy, particularly so as to attain full and timely common fighting action by *all* the members of the American-Soviet-British coalition against the heart and core of the Hitler Axis—against Hitler Germany in Europe. For this is the best way to take advantage of Hitler's plight and growing difficulties, this is the best way to advance the common interests of the entire anti-Hitler coalition.

Furthermore, it is incumbent upon all patriotic Americans, both native and foreign-born, to popularize and to organize the most active political mass support and practical aid to the national liberation movements, partisans and armies of the peoples of the occupied countries. This is especially necessary today in relation to and with the Yugoslavian national liberation army and its anti-fascist national front which has created the National Constituent Assembly. This is equally urgent so as to render every assistance to the fighting partisans and anti-Hitler national front movements among the French, Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian and Czech peoples, as well as among the German, Italian and Finnish peoples. Likewise it is necessary that the spotlight and hatred of American public opinion should be further focused upon the Nazi atrocities in the occupied countries, especially upon the Brown-Shirt pogroms against the Jewish people, so as to deepen the anti-fascist consciousness of America, so as to speed the Western Front to avenge the barbaric and murderous policies of the Hitlerites.

Secondly, in order to extend our nation's offensive against Hitler and the Axis, it is vital that American labor and all other patriotic forces should continue and redouble their efforts to secure immediately a gigantic increase in war production, through improved trade union and

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labor-management activities in the factories and through the establishment of a centralized war economy as provided in the Pepper-Tolan Bill. It is necessary that the American industrial giant, which has already made considerable progress in production, should be further geared to produce in time every requirement for the offensive in Africa, for opening and sustaining the second front in Europe, and for augmenting aid to our Allies.

And here labor should bear in mind the imperative necessity of combining the most energetic and effective work in the shops, factories and mines for expanding war production, with the most active and conscious political mobilization of the workers for fully placing our country on a total war footing, for an all-out military offensive against Hitler in Germany. This is all the more imperative in view of the line of the cautious calculators and defeatists as expressed on January 14, by Herbert Hoover, who stated that "our job is production . . . to aggressively tighten the rings around the European and Asiatic Axis . . . by effective *attrition*" (*Emphasis mine.*—E.D.); that is, production for a war of "attrition," for giving Hitler time, and not production for the offensive *now,* for the second front immediately.

Thirdly, it is more necessary than ever that national unity around the government should be further consolidated and that the government itself should be further strengthened with additional representatives of the most able, reliable and consistent patriots, anti-fascists, and by eliminating from the governmental departments all pro-appeasement and obstructionist elements. For this it is necessary that labor should be represented adequately in the government and in all war agencies. For this it is especially necessary that the government and its anti-Axis policies should be reinforced by the most energetic and persistent mass support and pressure of labor and the people.

In this connection, it is of the utmost importance that labor and those whom it influences should wage a more concrete and systematic struggle to unmask, isolate and rout the defeatists, in Congress and elsewhere, and to conduct the struggle against these forces in such a way as will clearly differentiate between the defeatists and the politics-as-usual forces. This struggle should be unfolded in such a way, for instance, as to break up the developing Congressional alliances between the appeasers and the many conservative elements and groups who are often influenced by economic and partisan considerations into lining up in the anti-Administration camp, into what inevitably becomes an obstructionist bloc to the war effort.

Likewise it is essential that the Administration itself should pursue a bolder and more resolute policy, particularly in respect to Congress, that it should carry on the fight against the appeasers and the fifth column still more determinedly. Equally important is the need to achieve a greater degree of united action within the labor movement, as well as between the Willkie Re-

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publicans and the Roosevelt Democrats. This should be forged around all decisive war issues and measures, relating not only to questions of military and foreign policy, *i.e.*, ensuring the speediest opening of the second front in Europe, strengthening the fighting alliance of the American-Soviet-British coalition, to extending and augmenting Lend Lease, etc., but also to the so-called domestic issues of taxation, the poll tax, etc., which are now being sedulously utilized by the appeasers and obstructionists as a means of trying to affect adversely our nation's military policy for extending the offensive. If this is done it will encourage and stimulate the Administration to challenge and fight the hidden and open opponents of victory, particularly those within Congress who give lip service to the nation's war objectives, while they attack and sabotage each specific war measure, particularly essential appropriations for Lend Lease and for other vital governmental war agencies and expenditures, and through the proposed creation of new Dies' and other witch-hunting and diversive investigating committees—all as a means of combatting the national war effort as a whole.

One of the most important issues here is that everything should be done by labor and the people to advance the struggle in support of a centralized war economy and for fully realizing the President's Seven-Point Program for economic stabilization. This is vital for advancing war production, for overcoming certain strains and dislocations in our national economy, and for strengthening national unity and our nation's war endeavor. This too will be one of the concrete ways to carry forward in the most effective manner the struggle against the defeatists, against the Vandenbergs and Tafts, the Hoovers and Hearsts, the du Ponts and McCormicks.

Above all, it is necessary to realize that today as never before the speediest realization of the second front in Europe, the solving of all other vital military and political questions, depends to a considerable extent upon the united action of labor and the people, and their collaboration with all patriots, with all anti-Hitler forces. It depends greatly upon the anti-fascist understanding, the initiative, the greatest activity and resoluteness of the organized labor movement. It depends to a large extent upon the unity of action of the working class and people within our country, and upon the promotion of international trade union unity and solidarity with the anti-fascists of all lands, especially upon the friendship and closest collaboration of the American-Soviet-British peoples and coalition and the fighting alliance of all the United Nations. And not least of all, it depends upon the political and organizing initiative, the firmness and Marxist - Leninist understanding, and the patriotic, anti-fascist mass activity of the Communists, of the vanguard of the working class, in our people's and nation's war of survival and freedom against Hitler and Hitlerism, for victory in 1943, for national independence, demo-

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cratic liberties and a just and durable peace.

The preconditions have been established for attaining victory over Nazism-fascism in 1943! These must be grasped and utilized in time! Labor and the people—all patriots—must unite and act now! The war policies of the Commander-in-Chief for extending the offensive must be vigorously supported and implemented! The anti-Hitler unity of the nation must be strengthened and enhanced! The most effective coalition warfare of the American-Soviet-British coalition, the establishment of the second front against Hitler in Europe, must be forged, now! Tempo, boldness, initiative, resolute struggle of the people, common fighting action and a single unified anti-Hitlerite strategy—this is the road to victory!

This is the way to achieve victory in 1943!

* * *

POSTSCRIPT:

As we go to press on January 22 there are growing indications that certain new steps and measures are now being taken by members of the American-Soviet-British coalition to establish a more unified Allied strategy and coordinated military strategy. These discussions and moves point in the direction of facilitating the extension of Anglo-American land operations to the European continent, toward achieving a more coordinated global strategy, as well as toward effecting a necessary change in Anglo-American policies in respect to North Africa.

Whatever may be the outcome of the current consultations and agreements now reported under way, there are many signs pointing to a closer understanding and a closer fighting alliance of the United Nations and its leading coalition. As we have outlined above, the turn which has taken place in the war, and the factors responsible for this change, point to this—developments which can be of great significance for hastening victory, for crushing Hitlerism, for promoting a just and durable peace.

In any event, there can be no doubt but that the trend and moves which will bring about closer collaboration and joint fighting action of and by all the members of the American-Soviet-British coalition should and can hasten the launching of the second front, as well as affecting positively and favorably the present and future course of the alliance of the United Nations.

Yet, precisely because of the immediate and the potential value of any present or pending agreements and understandings between the U.S.A. and Britain together with the Soviet Union, as well as with China, is essential that the American people should not curtail their mass activities. They should not lessen their support and pressure for opening and sustaining the second front and for strengthening further the firmest and closest fighting unity of the American-Soviet-British alliance. The American people should not and cannot absolve themselves of their own direct responsibilities

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for supporting and helping implement our Government's anti-Axis policies.

Suffice it to point to the Roosevelt-Molotov-Churchill agreements of June, 1942, concerning the creation of the second front in Europe—which were sabotaged and blocked by the Munichites and the "cautious calculators." It is true that since then the situation has changed; new agreements will now carry new political weight and influence and can now be fulfilled with greater speed and assurance. However, in order to counteract and defeat the appeasers and fifth columnists, in order to fully and rapidly realize past and present anti-Axis agreements, it is imperative that labor and the people be vigilant, active and united. It is necessary that they vigorously support, reinforce and help guarantee the timely execution of all pledges and agreements entered into by our government with its Allies, especially to strengthen and augment the collaboration and fighting alliance of the American-Soviet-British coalition.—*E. D.*

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FRANCE'S HOUR HAS STRUCK!

BY ANDRE MARTY

*(An Address to the French People over Radio France)**

AN EXPLOSION in Toulon announced to the whole world that a new situation has arisen in France. By trampling under foot the treaty which he himself dictated to France, Hitler has confirmed that his ruthless war against the French nation continues. The Toulon explosions roared in reply, sending up pillars of flames. The world realized that France was no longer the same. With one kick of the boot, the Prussian gendarme scattered all settings of a puppet theater in Vichy.

The contemptible Vichy midgets were so scared out of their wits that all of them, including Laval, were at a loss as to how to explain to the people of France the reason for Hitler's occupation of the whole country on November 11. One thing is certain; rats are already deserting the sinking galley of Vichy. That means the galley is going to the bottom. It is a sign tested in all times and in all countries.

But the hasty flight from Vichy has shown something more than this: It is a sure sign that the master of Vichy, Hitler, is himself in trouble. Fugitives from Vichy know that even in this cesspool it has become clear how irresistibly Hitler Germany is moving toward catastrophe. But, what is even more important, events in France have revealed the truth also to those honest Frenchmen who still had faith in Vichy.

And these honest Frenchmen have left Vichy to join the struggle against France's mortal enemy. Among them is General Giraud, who assumed command of troops in North Africa in the war against Italo-German fascists; General of French air forces d'Astier de la Vigerie, who joined the forces of General de Gaulle. Among them, furthermore, is General Delatre de Tassigny, who in Montpelier led soldiers in mutiny against the hated invaders. And, lastly, among them are officers of the French Navy, both old salts and youthful commanders. They too believed in Vichy to the last minute. And now they are making the supreme sacrifice they proclaimed before France, before the whole world: "The

* We print here the full text of this address, as transmitted to New York by the correspondent of Intercontinent News in Moscow.

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enemy remains an enemy, and France's salvation lies only in a life-and-death struggle!"

There is no doubt whatever that the sacred flames of Toulon were smoldering, rising and spreading for a long time. The flames were fanned by everything and primarily by the monstrous crimes of the Hitler occupationists, by the medieval tortures to which they have been subjecting French patriots, by the shooting of hostages in batches of fifty and a hundred men, just as on the eve of Valmy! They were fanned by the systematic plunder and depletion of France, a land built up by numerous generations of Frenchmen in the course of fifteen centuries of hard labor.

The French people gradually straightened their backs. They straightened to the accompaniment of countless insults, repeated day in and day out from month to month. Sabotage, this grim expression of the wrath of the French people, was growing in plants, factories, railway depots, in all offices. Tightly clenching his teeth, the peasant defended the fruits of his labor against requisitions and mechanized robbers. Thousands of brilliant representatives of French thought — engineers and doctors, men of science and letters armed with the logic of Descartes, armed with common sense, this splendid gift of the French people, exposed the barbaric Teuton ideology.

A brave army of illegal newspapers was tirelessly undermining and exposing the lies emanating from Vichy, that branch of the diabolical Goebbels' kitchen: "Père Duchesne" of 1792, glorious "Father Duchesne" with his battle cry "Hatred for tyrants! Victory or death!" was again come to life. The militant workers' organ *l'Humanité*, hero of the national front of struggle for France's liberation which never ceased to exist, has increased its circulation to unprecedented proportions.

On March 28, a flash of the first signal pierced the gloom enveloping France. On that day the workers' quarter of Saint Nazaire, encouraged by the heroic struggle of the Red Army which had inflicted defeat upon the German hordes at Leningrad and Moscow, rose in struggle against the German invaders as troops landed by the British fired their first shots. For three days the invaders were unable to cope with the daring patriots. Saint Nazaire has shown that the people of France have not reconciled themselves to capitulation and are impatiently waiting for the landing of Allied troops to plunge into a bold attack against their hangmen.

Amid darkness of Hitler's penal night France is engaged in a long and difficult underground struggle. Severe struggle was the reply of the French working class to the new onslaught of Hitlerites when they presented a demand for shipment of millions of French workers to Germany. Neither false promises nor the closing of thousands of France's enterprises, nor further threat of unemployment and starvation could induce the French workers to go to Germany.

The order about forcible shipment of workers to Germany was an-

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swered on September 4 by a wave of strikes. The largest iron and steel works, aircraft factories in both occupied and unoccupied zones of France, enterprises in Paris, mines in the North, Pas de Calais and Moselle, railway shops and stations were brought to a standstill as soon as lists of workers scheduled for shipment to Germany were posted there. German trains were derailed and sent crashing down embankments to their destruction in industrial districts of the country, on the fields of Normandy and Britanny. German storage houses were consumed by fire. Matters reached such a pass that in the center of Paris in Besancon, in the North, daring patriots began to attack German detachments, killing and exterminating Hitler's soldiers. Thus were acts of retaliation carried out.

Every new defeat suffered by Hitler in the Soviet Union inspired the French workers, backed by the whole population, including also many factory directors. The landing of American troops in North Africa was greeted with enthusiasm throughout France. Occupying the whole of France's territory, trampling on his own pledges, ignoring the capitulators of Vichy, Hitler wanted to prevent an outburst, but, contrary to his expectations, he merely hastened the national upsurge throughout France.

Toulon was a splendid manifestation of the true feelings of the French people for the hated foreign invaders. For, shining in the glow of the fire which enveloped the sinking French ships, was the irrevocable truth in a dazzling halo of light: Henceforth no other relations are possible between the French nation and the Hitler horde except those of struggle, of a life-and-death struggle.

* * *

At present all of France is occupied. Hitler's victory is no glorious victory. It is one of those victories which signify defeat. But now France can proudly say: There are defeats which mean victory! For, by kicking his flunkeys out of Vichy, Hitler has himself destroyed the screen which hid his beastly face from part of the French people. Henceforth Hitler banditism is revealed to the French people in all of its ugliness. The wild chase for people has begun throughout France. In feverish haste, Gestapo trucks have carried off Reynaud, and Mandel and, together with them, also Borotra, a Vichy Minister! Thousands of people of all shades of political opinion are being transported from France to Germany, their only guilt being their hatred for Hitler Germany.

In the meantime, throughout occupied France, Hitler cutthroats are engaged in notorious "scientific" plunder of the country. They seize everything they can lay hands on: vegetables, fruit, wine, and the last big iron and steel works and mines which survived in formerly unoccupied zones. There is not a single Frenchman now in the former non-occupied zone who has not seen with his own eyes the brutality and cruelty of the Hitler gang, which

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has transformed murder and plunder into a state institution.

There is not a single Frenchman who still has any doubt about the role of Vichy men: The German "Consul" tolerates them inasmuch as they limit their activities to slavish circulation of monstrous fables fabricated by Goebbels and continue their service in fulfillment of Gestapo orders. And the conclusion? The conclusion is clear to everybody. Henceforth the French people can count only on their own strength. The last of their illusions have faded away together with the smoke from the Toulon explosions.

But Toulon was not merely an act of destruction, and not only a splendid example of heroism. No, its meaning is far greater. Many naval officers and yesterday's reactionaries had faith in Vichy, in Hitler's word. But the sailors and petty officers were mainly workers from big enterprises throughout France, and in the past frequently clashed with their superiors. As regards the Toulon workers, they at one time expressed their thoughts and sentiments by electing a Communist, a Toulon ordnance worker, as their deputy. But despite all intrigues of the contemptible traitors, especially sent by Vichy, the appearance of German tanks and bombers in Toulon was a signal for national unification of all these people—sailors and their officers, workers, all—regardless of their social status, political outlooks, religious beliefs.

The order to scuttle the ships was not only carried out with exemplary discipline by all men—officers, petty officers and sailors—without exception, but in some places dock workers came to their assistance. Their machineguns and rifle fire delayed the German invasion in order to prevent French ships from falling into the hands of the enemy. Thus Toulon became not only a remarkable example of heroism, but also a splendid example of the unity of all Frenchmen for struggle which will lead to the liberation of France. Toulon has an irresistible appeal because it has been inscribed in the blood of the heroes who made the supreme sacrifice to strike a blow at the enemy.

There is no doubt whatever that the occupation of the whole of France will result in even more implacable hatred for the occupationists and traitors and, most important, it will unite all sections of the population in a national front struggle for the liberation of France. The landing of American troops in North Africa means the creation of a powerful support point for the opening of the second front on the continent of Europe. The formation of a new French army is already beginning in rich North Africa; this army will soon be able to stretch out its helping hand to the French people.

And there is no doubt that the appearance of Allied armed forces on the European continent will greatly accelerate and make easier an uprising of the French people. Saint Nazaire affords indisputable proof in this respect. The French people know that liberation does not come from the outside. There

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is not a Frenchman who did not know how the mighty upsurge of popular masses in 1792, one hundred and fifty years ago, drove the "horde of slaves, traitors and rejected kings" beyond the confines of France and triumphantly created a united and indivisible France. Contrary to imperial and Hitler Germany, French unity gathered strength in struggle against the invaders, and not in predatory attacks on neighboring countries!

The French people realize very well that conditions are exceptionally favorable at present for striking a mortal blow at the Hitler executioners. Hitler is embarking upon his 1942 winter campaign, having already suffered defeat on important sectors of the Soviet-German front. German troops are on the defensive also in Libya and in Tunisia. They are feverishly occupying Italy, not only because of the necessity to defend her against invasion, but also because the Italian masses passionately long for peace. The people in the occupied countries are in a state of agitation and anger. All vassal countries of Hitler Germany reveal the symptoms of weariness and exhaustion. The French people, ardent champions of freedom, will strengthen their preparedness for a general uprising which will bring France her liberation from the foreign yoke.

A national uprising against the Hitler invaders is what millions of Frenchmen are dreaming of and preparing for. But this popular uprising can be victorious only if all Frenchmen who desire to fight for the liberation of France rally in support of national unity. It is a question of reaching on a national scale the same unity and state of organization which in Toulon wrested the French navy from the hands of the enemy. The working class, the whole nation, is now faced with the following alternatives: either enslavement of the French people by Hitler Germany, which would threaten the French nation with destruction, or the ousting of the Hitler invaders from French soil, the restoration of the independence of France. Then, and only then will the French people have the freedom and sovereignty to choose their state system and government.

All old political and religious differences in France are now being relegated to the background. There is a barrier now, not between "Rights" and "Lefts," but between those who wish to fight for the independence of France and those who betray and sell out to the enemy, to reduce the French people to the status of beasts of burden, condemned forever to penal labor, to slavery under the German fascist imperialists. That is why the French Communist Party is conducting a campaign for the immediate and solid unity of all Frenchmen against the common enemy.

Placing the interests of the French nation above everything else, the French Communists are closely collaborating even with those who, poisoned by a decade of Hitler propaganda, have dealt France a heavy blow by persecuting Communists, which made considerably easier the capitulation of

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June, 1940. The Communist Party of France calls upon the people to exclude from national unity only those who betray the interests of the people, all sorts of Lavals and Deats, Doriots and Spinasses. It is primarily against such agents of Hitler—the mortal enemy of the French nation—that people must direct their fire. And it is precisely because for the past three years the French Communist Party has been tirelessly agitating for a united national front that French Communists are now cooperating with General de Gaulle.

Beginning July, 1940, from the moment that General de Gaulle began to rally the first volunteers of the new French Army, the French Communist Party has been ruthlessly exposing the shameful Vichy Government.

The Communist Party of France called for "national unity to make possible the formation of a government of national regeneration consisting of courageous and honest men, of a government of the people, backed by the people and governing only in the interests of the people." At that time the Communist Party of France declared that General de Gaulle was the only member of the government who in June, 1940, refused to accept the armistice and deliver France into bondage. The Communist Party of France pointed out that, beginning from the moment of his arrival in England, General de Gaulle continued the struggle, proclaiming that he "remains a Frenchman serving only France," that he "recognizes the French nation's right to decide—as soon as it will be able to do so—by free and universal suffrage its own state system and to elect its own government" (Marseilles, December 5, 1942).

Hence, French Communists everywhere cooperate with de Gaulle's supporters because they are really fighting for the liberation of France. In October the Communist Party of France signed a joint declaration with the de Gaullist organizations "Combat," "Franctireur" and "Liberation" on joint action against the forcible dispatch of French workers to Hitler Germany.

But precisely because the French Communist Party is fighting for a national front it supports also all other elements who actually are fighting against Hitler Germany. Thus, the Communist Party of France now supports General Delattre de Tassigny who but yesterday was faithful to Vichy, but, beginning November 11, showed that he understood the full baseness of Hitler's Vichy flunkeys, refusing to obey their orders and joining the struggle against the German invaders.

On the same grounds the Communist Party of France also supports the officers who, together with General Giraud, are fighting against the Italian-German hordes in North Africa. And further, only yesterday a majority of the Naval officers of Toulon were by no means among the supporters of the Communist Party. But, despite this, the Communist Party is now doing its utmost to wrest them from the clutches of the Gestapo and give them the possibility to continue the

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struggle so heroically begun in Toulon.

The Communist Party sets but one condition for its collaboration: Joint conduct of the active struggle, joint action in the war against the German fascist imperialists. The Communist Party is tolerant and is not trying to settle old scores. Revival of national unity of the French people has been paid for with too high a price, with too great suffering, not to be defended with all the strength and all the passion as a principal means for rallying all the forces in the country to drive the German fascist invaders from French soil.

* * *

To bring about the unification of the whole nation, coordination of all its efforts and, lastly, for securing the necessary unity in leadership of the new battle for France, it is necessary to unite all the national forces in the various committees of the national front. These committees, in industry, railway transport, in the schools and universities, in town and countryside, must become the principal and the only motive centers of the whole struggle for freedom.

Undoubtedly, in this great liberation struggle, North Africa can and must play a tremendous role. It must become the base for mustering the armed forces, for concentrating war materials and all that is necessary for the opening of the second front in Europe. It has already become a supporting point for powerful Allied armies ready to lend a helping hand to the peoples enslaved by the Hitlerites. That is why the Communist Party of France is exerting all its energy to help the creation within the shortest possible time of a strong French Army in North Africa, a national anti-Hitler army which would serve the cause of France's liberation, and which President Roosevelt has promised to equip with all the weapons necessary for the conduct of modern warfare.

The Communist Party of France is energetically supporting every effort directed toward the mobilization of the human, agricultural and industrial resources necessary for turning North Africa into a strong base from which the French and Allied armies could begin operations against the European continent.

Therefore the Communist Party of France demands the immediate liberation of the 30,000 patriots—French, Arab, Spanish and other anti-fascists—interned in concentration camps on the orders of the Italian-German "Armistice Commission."

But to rally the entire population of North Africa for the struggle for liberation from Hitler slavery, to bring about a mighty rising of the French and Arabs, it is necessary to restore immediately all pre-war liberties of the Republic, to restore democratic liberties, electoral institutions, municipal councils, trade unions, and all workers' and democratic organizations suppressed by the Vichy usurpers.

* * *

During the two and a half years

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of Vichy rule the worst fifth-column elements were appointed to principal posts in all the decisive fields in North Africa. The country is swarming with the scum of the Doriot gang, with scoundrels from Laval's region; and direct agents of the enemy are armed by them. The tragic experiences of the war lived through by France in 1940 must not be forgotten: Rapid mobilization of human and material reserves in North Africa urgently demands the immediate clearing of all posts of these dregs, of these fifth-column agents. The interests of the struggle imperiously demand the disarmament and the disbandment of all the Hitler groups, the arrest of all of their leaders, agents in enemy pay.

Lastly, the 15,000,000 Arabs and Berbers in North Africa can play an invaluable role in the great struggle against Hitler imperialism. But, to draw these splendid warriors into the ranks of the new French Army, these peoples must be granted the minimum rights they have always been demanding: equality in rights and duties with the French in North Africa. Equal responsibilities with equal rights! The day when, following the restoration of democratic liberties in North Africa, the Arab and Berber peoples are granted equal rights with the French will see an unprecedented upsurge of popular enthusiasm which will infuse the liberation armies with splendid and brave soldiers.

Henceforth, preparations for the peoples' liberation uprising becomes an essential and most urgent question on the order of the day in France. Everything is subordinated to this task, which must be carried out so that the uprising breaks out at a moment of the creation of the second front in Europe. But it would be a big mistake to regard this preparation as a vast plot. Unquestionably, it requires a number of measures of an organizational and military-technical character. But the dictates of the hour are not limited to this.

A popular uprising throughout the country will become possible only when all the people have been brought into motion, drawn into action, when they have already received the necessary experience in local fighting, when they have already trained or tested cadres in this struggle necessary for the conduct of such a people's war; lastly—when the people have already started the process of the disintegration of the enemy, the demoralization of his forces.

But this would mean that a central uprising in France at the moment of landing of the Allied armies on the continent can come only as a concluding stage in the process of mustering the forces against the enemy, which must be pursued and extended right now. A necessary condition for the preparation of the popular uprising is the ceaseless daily activities aimed at weakening the enemy with all means and in all forms. This implies a maximum of organization effort, initiative and action to prevent the occupation troops from strengthening their positions, to give the unscrupulous traitors from Vichy no chance to re-

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cover from the blows sustained by them.

All means are permissible here and all sections of the population can bring into action whatever is the most effective weapon. In the first place, the Hitlerites must be deprived of everything that they have already stolen from the French people: food products, footwear, clothing, coal and metal. Whatever cannot be recaptured must be destroyed: anyone can start a fire.

* * *

The Hitler bandits have now attacked the whole of France. This means that the hour has struck to give a rebuff to the arrogance of Goering, who is calculating to feed his horde of looters while strangling the people of France with the bony hands of hunger.

The hour has come to destroy the system of requisitioning, a favorite method of the plunderers, of the Hitler cutthroats. It is necessary to hide the crop and cattle, to barter grain and meat with the urban inhabitants, to organize armed groups, to protect hidden foodstuffs from the invaders, from the traitors in his pay. This has now become an important national task, in the first place the task of the French tillers of the soil. At the same time workers and office employees must use all means, including strikes, to bring about an improvement in the supply, demand higher wages to meet the skyrocketing prices.

Bread and milk for the children! No increase in rents! No eviction of tenants! No closing of schools for billeting of occupationists! All these demands of the French women are now becoming slogans of action, slogans of demonstration against the invader and his flunkeys.

In industrial districts it is very important to facilitate the utmost spread of sabotage, the destruction of everything which serves to arm the Hitler war machine, to put out of commission all sources of electric power, heat and power stations, the most energetic disorganization of transport facilities. Transport is the Achilles' heel of the Hitler war machine; therefore the destruction of transport facilities used by Germany, of railway, water and air communications, becomes a task of vital importance.

Von Runstedt is trying to restore the Toulon fortress as soon as possible. He wants to destroy fields and vineyards in order to erect a network of fortifications along the Mediterranean coast of France, along the Pyrenees, to build a fortified district supplied by a network of railways and highways, in short Hitler wants to lock up France in a prison of steel and concrete. The construction of these fortifications must be sabotaged with all means; nothing must be spared to delay the completion of this job. This is one of the most important factors in preparation of a popular uprising, inasmuch as frustration of Hitler's plans would facilitate an eastern landing of Allied troops and of the French Army from North Africa.

One of the most important tasks in his vast act of the whole French

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people is to prevent Hitler Germany from laying hands on the human resources of France, her labor power —French men and women, workers and engineers, soldiers, sailors and officers—to prevent her from laying hands on our splendid youth who are eager to plunge into battle against the invaders. To preserve France's human reserves is to create the guarantee of the liberation of France. This is precisely why Hitler is so frantically trying to get our human resources.

In short, preparation of national uprising, beginning from the present moment, consists in multiplying and strengthening all blows at the enemy and his clique, blows struck in every form, in all ways, and by all means. This means to harass the enemy, giving him not a single minute's respite. Every success resulting from action by the popular masses strengthens their faith in their own strength, urges them on to new activities, which bring nearer and ensure the success of a general uprising.

And the sooner France will cease to be a place of rest for the bloodthirsty fascist bandits, the stronger will proceed disintegration in the Hitler troops, which in turn will make easier the military activities of the patriots. It goes without saying that a national uprising will necessitate the bringing into action of powerful armed forces. The time has come for spreading through France the experience of the first detachments who are already fighting against the invaders. The good results achieved by these first groups of franctireurs open up broad prospects. Precisely these groups will form the first battalions of the new French anti-Hitler army on the territory of France.

Attacked on the Soviet-German front, in Cyrenaica and in Tunisia, compelled to hurry to the aid of directly threatened Italy, the German army can carry out the occupation of the formerly unoccupied zone of France only with the forces of its garrisons stationed in France, Belgium and Holland. But this means that the density, the number of occupation troops in the formerly occupied zone of France have diminished. This makes easier the development of the guerrilla movement, diversion acts by franctireurs and the arming of guerrillas at the expense of the German fascists and Doriot bandits.

Radio parrots from Paris and Vichy constantly threaten Frenchmen who are hiding arms. All appeals to soldiers and officers of the armistice army to demobilize, to receive three months' leave and special allowances, have fallen on deaf ears; the soldiers, sailors, noncoms and many officers are not inclined to join the million and a half Frenchmen who are suffering untold tortures in Hitler thraldom in Germany. There are therefore cadres of resolute and frequently armed people who can and must join the ranks of the franctireurs and create new guerrilla detachments. They can conduct military training and draw into their detachments all Frenchmen who are threatened by forcible shipment to Germany, young and veteran soldiers in the first place. It is far better to fight

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for freedom in France than to perish in German slavery!

With the aid of officers who are also in peril of exile and persecution, the formation of a network of guerrilla detachments throughout France becomes much easier, all the more since the French people have such splendid experience in armed uprisings. This implies not only the experience of the "Patriots des Vosges" in 1813-15, of the franctireurs of 1815 and 1870-71. No. This also includes the experience of the youthful anti-fascist, of 18-year-old Marcel Weinan, who with his group has for eighteen months been inflicting blow upon blow on the Hitlerites in Strassburg. It is the experience of the miner Charles Debarge, the organizer and commander of the franctireurs in Pas de Calais, who carried out over fifty operations against German detachments, and a number of raids on occupationists' supply stores without losing a single man in the process.

All this testifies to the tremendous possibilities open before the French people. The occupation of the whole of France draws new industrial districts and mountain regions into the fight. All the conditions are there for the creation of numerous groups of franctireurs which, maintaining contact among themselves in town and countryside, and tempered in daily activities, would wear down and weaken the Hitlerites, carrying out acts of justice on the traitors, and would create supporting points for the formation of a new French anti-Hitler army on the territory of France proper.

Such a struggle demands staunch leadership. Therefore it is necessary to form a Military Committee of the National Front in the enterprises, railway centers, in big cities, as well as in small villages situated high in the mountains. These committees will organize and unite the activities of the franctireurs. The forces necessary for leadership are there despite the furious fascist terror. France has vast forces of resolute energetic men and women, able organizers, capable of leading the daily struggle of the French people against the German hangmen, of directing the preparations for a general national uprising.

Such in general is the program of action for the accomplishment of which the Communist Party of France calls upon the nation to unite to bring about the restoration of national independence, this paramount and most important condition for the regeneration of France. Recalling the history of the last few years, every honest Frenchman recognizes that, had the proposals repeatedly suggested by the French Communist Party with regard to home and foreign policy been accepted in good time, they would have averted many of the horrors being experienced at present.

Today, on the first anniversary of the heroic martyrdom of a faithful son of France, a true representative of the French people, Gabriel Peri, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, one cannot but be moved when reading his articles and speeches which, day in and day out, voiced the demands and aspirations of the French Communists: The demand for national

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unity, for a French National Front, collective security, a rebuff to aggressors; sanctions against Italy, which occupied Ethiopia, international rights for Republican Spain. Against Munich, this new Sedan which was supposed to save fascism; for Czechoslovakia as the bastion of France's security—all this was proclaimed by Gabriel Peri, a thousand times repeated by him on behalf of the party and together with all its leaders. In the last moment of his life, before dying a martyr's death, he wrote "If I had my life to live all over again I would have chosen the same path."

The sincerity and correctness of the policy of our Communist Party were confirmed by the blood of our people, thousands of whom have fallen in struggle, who, with heads raised high, looked death squarely in the face. They went to their death singing the "Marseillaise," proclaiming their unwavering confidence in the inevitability of the speedy defeat of the Hitler gang, their strong solidarity with the Soviet Union, with its Red Army, with its government, glorifying Joseph Stalin, the great leader and soldier of the greatest battle in history.

The policy of our party is inscribed in the blood of one of the most outstanding of its leaders and founders, Pierre Semard, who, in the last minutes of his life, after going through cruel tortures, wrote with a steady hand, "I know that the Hitlerites who are shooting me have aleady been defeated and that France will again continue the struggle. Long Live the Soviet Union and its Allies! Long Live France!"

The tongues of flame bursting skywards at daybreak on November 27 in Toulon showed the entire world that the whole of France is now burning with thirst for vengeance and is rallying behind the life-and-death struggle against Hitler fascism. France's hour has struck! And the Communist Party of France will redouble its efforts to bring about the formation and strengthening of the National Front, to draw the whole French people into the struggle, and by energetic daily activities to prepare for a general uprising of the nation against the Italo-German invaders.

The Communist Party of France will do everything to make it possible for the French nation to make its great contribution to the cause of victory of the freedom-loving peoples over the bitterest enemy of mankind that ever trod the face of the earth.

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SOME PROBLEMS OF CENTRALIZED WAR PRODUCTION

BY V. J. JEROME

EVERYTHING about the life of the country must become subordinated to the needs for achieving victory. The war demands total mobilization, centralized planning and control are the key to such mobilization. The equipment of our armed forces and the fulfilment of lend-lease supplies to our Allies require production at maximum capacity, necessitating complete mobilization and coordination of material, manpower, and technological resources. Full production for military needs must be accompanied by production and distribution of civilian goods requisite for maintaining on a level of efficiency the men and women on the Home Front who, directly and indirectly in the total mobilization, are engaged in the war production. This makes necessary centralized economic stabilization, with all the new controls to regulate production and distribution in a situation in which the controls of peacetime economy have become inoperative.

This plan is set forth programmatically by the Tolan Committee, which demands "the treatment of American industry as if it were one gigantic firm whose resources were at the command of the nation."

The bill introduced in the Seventy-seventh Congress by Representative John H. Tolan and Senators Pepper and Kilgore sought the establishment of an Office of War Mobilization to (1) "inventory and mobilize all the economic resources of the United States, including manpower, facilities, materials, technical and scientific knowledge, and natural resources for maximum use in the provision of military and essential civilian needs; (2) adjust and stabilize the economy in accordance with the needs of full mobilization and other conditions created by the war."

Indicative of the growing support for a fully integrated war production program has been the endorsement of this plan by the chairmen of five Congressional Committees at the last session. The united voice of organized labor has been heard through the C.I.O., the A. F. of L., and the Railroad Brotherhoods, calling for an intensified war mobilization through the establishment of centralized governmental planning and control of war production and economic stabilization. The plan has also received the support of the Farmers Union and other farm organizations, as well as that of small businessmen and professional groups. It has met with the support of a broad section of employers and industrial groups.

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At the same time, a small but powerful defeatist element centering in the du Pont clique of the National Association of Manufacturers pursues an obstructionist strategy: Not only do they violently oppose the needed adoption of a centrally administered war production; they also violently attack even the existing control and planning functions of government. With the demagogic cry of "collectivism!" and "bureaucratic dictatorship!" they set themselves against all measures directed at effective governmental control and centralization of war production. Behind this maneuver we see, only thinly disguised, the treacherous purposes of defeatism.

The evil power of that defeatist clique was strikingly demonstrated at the National Association of Manufacturers' "War Congress of American Industry," which was held in New York last December; for it was at the "War Congress" that an unprecedented series of attacks was launched against the government, against labor, and particularly against a centralized war economy under government authority. Despite its lip-loyalty to "Ways to Victory" that "it is the job of Government to see to it that the nation's resources are mobilized for all-out war production," the true tenor and concrete substance of the "War Congress" is contained in the Platform declaration:

"The Government should recognize and support the responsibility and authority of *management* in planning and carrying out production." (Italics made—V.J.J.)

The utter elimination of labor—and essentially of the government—from planning, control and authority in the nation's war production! In other words, "it is the job of the government to see to it that the nation's resources are mobilized for all-out"—profiteers!

That this strategy of vicious obstructionism does not spring from the ranks of business and industry as a whole is shown by a highly confidential report* on the secret meeting of the N.A.M. strategy committee last September, at which the pattern of the December "War Congress" was set. This report shows clearly how, by virtue of their immense power, the most aggressively reactionary elements in American industry forced a disruptive and defeatist policy on those broader business interests whose own tendency has been to place victory over fascism as the first aim of the entire nation and therefore also their aim. Overriding this correct latter view as soon as it managed to find expression, Lammot du Pont, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, sounded the *leitmotif* of the conclave with the declaration:

"Deal with the government and the rest of the squawkers the way you deal with a buyer in a seller's market!"

Another spokesman for the disrupters is reported to have stated:

"If we are to come out of this war with a Marxist brand of Na-

* Made public in *New Masses*, November 17, 1942, in an article by Bruce Minton.

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tional Socialism, then I say negotiate peace now and bring Adolf over here to run the show. He knows how. He's efficient. He can do a better job than any of us can and a damned sight better job than Roosevelt, who is nothing but a Left-wing bungling amateur."

And Chairman Crawford rounded out these statements in his concluding remarks with the words:

"Destroy the bureaucracy of government agencies that choke our economic life—give free enterprise the room to breathe—and, gentlemen, America doesn't need any planning."

After the creation of internal "unity" on such a point of view at the September strategy meeting, the sinister forces in control of the N.A.M. were able to launch, at their "War Congress," a broadside of assorted reactionary and defeatist attacks on the necessary governmental economic controls vital for victory.

In keeping with this resistance to coordinated war production, Wilfred Sykes, president of Inland Steel Co., assailed labor-management committees as an attempt by labor (especially Philip Murray of the C.I.O.) to "sovietize" industry by subjecting "every decision" of management to debate and discussion. Warming up to his theme, he broadened it out into a full-fledged attack on the Wagner Act, the War Labor Board, the C.I.O., the A. F. of L.—on labor as a whole:

"The constructive work being done in the war effort is almost entirely by men from management. The destructive forces have other origins."

That cabal of defeatist industrialists produced its soothsayers, too, at the "War Congress": economists from learned institutions who have been trained to invest the hectic labor-hating and Administration-fighting activities with a certain air of authority. Professor Harley L. Lutz of Princeton University, in a devastating assault upon the necessary measures instituted by the government to limit profits and pay for the war, stated that the current Administration tax policy was "the most potent of all weapons for the destruction of private property and private initiative and for the introduction of the socialist state."

The attack on the Administration served as a convenient jumping-off point for vicious repudiation of the fundamental objective and strategy of the people's war, in the same way as balking at specific policies, such as labor-management committees, introduced the wildest of anti-labor excesses. There was the now-famous perversion of Vice President Wallace's statement on war aims, by retiring N.A.M. president W. P. Witherow:

"I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every Hottentot, or for a T.V.A. on the Danube, or for governmental handouts of free Utopia."

From another direction, the defeatist industrialist minority finds support in the camp of Norman Thomas and the Trotskyites. Here the cant is that by present and proposed measures for planning and

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centralizing war production we are being led to fascism via the back door! Says Mr. Thomas (*The Call*, October 16, 1942):

"I have long ago advocated social planning as necessary to victory in the war against poverty and economic insecurity. But that planning, I have said, must consciously allow for civil liberties and large areas of economic action outside bureaucratic state control. In the name of war's necessity, are we geting bureaucratic dictatorship all too likely to survive the war?"

Thomas seeks to exploit the fact that the Axis powers, too (and to a degree vaster than we), have mobilized their resources for their war program. But—they have done this through the economics of thuggery: by the destruction of the labor movement; by the frightful deterioration of the conditions of the workers and the general masses of the people*; by the introduction of slavery in the conquered territories; by pillage and plunder, by the seizure of stocks from the conquered peoples, who are systematically left to starve; by the uprooting and forcible transportation of entire sections of the subjugated peoples for slave labor for the fascist war machine.

Thomas, further, can indulge in his demagoguery only by concealing the just, national-liberation character of the war that America is fighting as part of the United Nations, by ignoring the progressive leadership of the Roosevelt Administration in the nation's war, and by essentially denying labor's growing role and influence in this war.

Both the willful defeatist minority of Big Business and their Thomas-Trotskyite allies, operating by division of labor from vantage points within capitalist and working-class strata, unite to block centralized planning and control of war production vital for victory as—"regimentation" and "dictatorship."

It scarcely requires lengthy discussion to establish that a centralized control of war production by our government, now or as projected, is not and would not be socialism—a fact that is surely not lost upon the minds of the agitated obstructionists of the N.A.M. Indeed, Earl Browder, who has given the country a clear and effective basis for a centralized war economy plan,* well states:

"These changes which my argument poses as a need of our war economy are not socialist, and do not result in a socialist system of economy. The war economy under central administration, with labor's active participation, the outlines of which I am trying to bring forth, would be a capitalist economy, in fact the highest development of capitalism. To those who protest that it is state capitalism, the answer is that state capitalism is but a synonym for capitalism adjusted to the requirements of all-out war."**

Elsewhere Browder points out

* The less the people consume, the more work can be done on armament production. The standard of living and the scale of armament production must move in opposite directions." (Hjalmar Schacht, in 1938, quoted in *The Economics of Barbarism*, by J. Kuczynski and M. Witt. International Publishers, 1942, p. 14.)

* See Earl Browder, "The Economics of All-Out War," *The Communist*, October, 1942; *Victory—And After*, International Publishers, New York, 1942, Part IV; *Production for Victory*, Workers Library Publishers, New York, 1942.

** *Victory—And After*, p. 243.

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that the only possible alternative to state capitalism for meeting the requirements of centralized control of war production would be a Socialist economy, for which the United States is not yet subjectively prepared.*

Browder bases himself on Lenin, who pointed out that capitalism in its monopoly stage—trustified capitalism—within the existing conditions of class relationship, makes possible and introduces certain forms of control and plan.

In his classic work *Imperialism,* written in 1916, Lenin, while showing the highest stage of capitalism to be likewise its declining stage, in which all the contradictions of the capitalist system reach their highest point, also stated:

"This is no longer the old type of free competition between manufacturers, scattered and out of touch with one another, and producing for an unknown market. Concentration has reached the point at which it is possible to make an approximate estimate of all sources of raw material . . . of a country and even . . . of several countries, or of the whole world."**

The very process of heightened concentration of production and capital that have resulted in monopoly, the cartelization and growing interdependence of industries, etc., provide today the technical groundwork for integration and coordination of the entire productive process nationally for the war effort, and facilitate the adoption of centralized administrative measures to achieve these ends.

The presence of certain planning features in monopoly capitalism does not mean socialism. The underlying social relations remain capitalist. Private ownership is intact. The profit motive in production is not abolished, even though the government may—and should—direct the use of increasing parts of the profits for the war needs. Not to realize this would mean to surrender to the demagoguery of those defeatist industrialists who set up the hue and cry of "socialism!" in order to justify their resistance to the integration of the country's industrial power with the war effort.

Of course, under socialist economy, there is no problem of transition to planning; for, to begin with, the entire system, in which the means of production are socially owned and human exploitation is at an end, is based upon an economy in which comprehensive, consistent, scientific planning of production and distribution under state regulation is inherent. The magnificent example of the Soviet Union has incontestably demonstrated this truth, as have, conversely, the experiences to date of our wartime planning methods and those of Great Britain, with their discords, lags, and dislocations, with their terrific waste. In this connection, notwithstanding the differences in the economic systems, our country can learn from the planning methods and techniques of our Soviet ally, whose economic, social, and military strength was built up, as the whole

* An address on Centralized Control of War Production, delivered at the Institute on Problems of the War, Hotel Astor, New York, November 28, 1942.

** V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works,* International Publishers, Vol. V, p. 22.

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world now recognizes, by the great Stalinist Plans.

However, the issue before us in the war we are waging is not the question of *social* transformation, but of immediate plenary mobilization for victory to preserve our *national* existence. The issue is how to muster and allocate the nation's total resources for the victorious prosecution of the anti-Axis war in which all patriotic sections of the people have a stake. The issue is the war of all civilization against fascist bestiality and obscurantism.

As Marxians we recognize the historic necessity and inevitability of the Socialist transformation of society for which the productive level of our country has long been prepared. But as Marxians, as Communists, as American patriots, we proceed from the premise that everything must be subordinated today to the needs of winning the war, for without the destruction of the Hitler Axis there can be no social progress. This is the basis upon which the working class is inseverably united with all classes in a patriotic national unity for victory. It is the framework of this national unity—this pro-victory collaboration of labor, employers, and government—that, despite all opposition and all obstacles, a centralized war economy which will mobilize the country's striking power to the maximum can and must imperatively be established.

* * *

Our country has made important progress toward this end on the front of war production (as distinct from the sphere of economic stabilization). By the end of 1942, the United States had over 15,000,000 workers employed in war industries. Large-scale war conversion of many industries had been put into effect. Shipping tonnage was being built at an unprecedented rate. Record-breaking, too, was the total of over 86,000,000 net tons of raw steel produced in this country in 1942 (far outstripping the 61,000,000-ton productive capacity of all the Axis nations combined). President Roosevelt, in his Message to Congress on the State of the Union in Wartime, was able to report that by our 1942 production record our airplane production had come to exceed the combined airplane output of the three leading Axis Powers; that the production of machine guns and anti-tank guns registered a six-fold increase over 1941; and that the production of small arms ammunition and artillery ammunition recorded, for the same period, a five- and twelve-fold increase, respectively.

"I think the arsenal of democracy is making good," added the President.

Undoubtedly, the year since Pearl Harbor has seen a great rise in the index of our war production. It would, however, be a grave mistake, with deadening consequences for our war effort, to let this achievement induce a mood of complacency. The armament requirements for 1943 will be tremendously increased. Moreover, a full view of the 1942 war-production record hardly offers a basis of complacency. For, it should be borne in mind that

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the President's production goals for 1942 in the major munitions categories (planes, tanks, anti-aircraft guns, and merchant shipping) were, except for merchant shipping, *not met*.

Commenting on this failure, the Tolan Committee, in its final report on January 10, saw it reflecting "a general maladjustment in the war production program."

"We cannot afford the luxury of self-congratulation on the production record of 1942," the Committee stated. "It represents substantial gains, to be sure, over low levels of 1941, but is the product of America's unorganized might and falls far short of our organized productive capacity, to say nothing of the stated goals."

Rightly, the Committee saw the deficiencies of our war production reflected especially in the sphere of manpower, where the absence of full central coordination has made for gross inadequacy in the allocation of our human resources required for the armed services and the production of war materials and essential consumer goods. The President's Executive Order setting up an expanded War Manpower Commission, under the chairmanship of Paul V. McNutt, designed to consolidate the existing manpower agencies and their operations, is a decided mark of progress. But, as Browder pointed out recently,* there still remains the basic fault of the separation of manpower and production problems, in the absence of a plan that would integrate these two spheres of our war economy.

Furthermore, there is still needed the decisive turn in official policy that would once and for all roll from our path the obstacle to the full mobilization of America's vast Negro manpower. The recent decision of War Manpower Chief McNutt to postpone indefinitely hearings by the Fair Employment Practices Committee on discrimination against Negroes in the railroad industry well merits the condemnation by the C.I.O. as "a setback of the first magnitude on the home front of the nation's war effort" and "a serious blow to the war morale of more than 10,000 Negro citizens and to all white persons who know that racial discrimination is a Hitlerite weapon that should be stamped out by believers in democracy."

Millions of women constitute a gigantic reserve force for the mounting demands of war production. Of the estimated five and a half million that will need to be drawn into the country's working forces by the end of this year, women will have to form an increasingly large part. The availability of this reserve force depends in great measure upon the elimination of all practices of economic and social discrimination that prevent women from making their maximum contribution to the war effort; it calls for more training programs for women and the opening of facilities for their promotion; it calls for a social and welfare program providing for the care of children and thus releasing mothers and housewives for war work in industry.

Finally, the problem of war man-

* Address delivered at the Madison Square Garden, New York, on January 11, 1943.

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power, as indeed of planned war economy as a whole, cannot be met, save as the problem, centrally, of the mobilization and allocation of labor—and save as the *democratic* mobilization and allocation. The war we are waging is a just, national war, and our program is influenced by the war's political essence and can be most effectively prosecuted in a democratic way. We can most effectively conduct our war mobilization only by policies that derive from the democratic content of our war for national existence and are protective of labor's gains and of the democratic attainments which the war aims to safeguard. We are merely at the first stages of such democratic mobilization of our resources. The further development of such policies as the necessary complement to the opening of the Second Front in Europe will tremendously release, on the home and battle fronts, the enthusiasms and energies of the people in the people's war.

As against the amassing difficulties, dislocations, and opposition, as against the deepening demoralization, besetting the Nazi-fascist war machine, from which the initiative has been wrested, our mobilization is on the upgrade; its power is constantly growing, and will continue to grow as labor's unity, and the active collaboration of all the pro-victory forces increase. In these very policies of democratic mobilization, if we make them constantly and consistently operative, lies our strength—our superiority over fascist mobilization through terror and human degradation.

Manpower mobilization in the anti-Axis war demands a re-approach to the problem of integrating labor into the war economy. The issue has been presented concretely by Browder:

"The Nazi fascist method of meeting this need is the enslavement of labor, the destruction of all independent organizations of labor and the people, the imposition of a terroristic dictatorship. The democratic method is one of drawing labor into the government and all war agencies; it is one of taking labor into joint responsibility for production, the settlement of disputed questions through conciliation and arbitration, the maintenance and extension of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively, and the voluntary suspension by labor of the exercise of its right to strike."*

Such integration of labor for co-responsibility in directing the total mobilization unfortunately still remains unachieved. It is not labor that bears the onus for this detriment to our war effort. The workers' sacrifices and their solid support of the government's war program stand out through actions well-known to all. Labor's stand is symbolized in the declaration of the C.I.O. (through the Officers' Report to the organization's last Convention):

"We call upon our Commander-in-Chief to make any demand and any request of labor and we pledge ourselves to give everything we can in fighting men, in production, in money and in patriotism to enable

* *Victory—And After*, p. 240.

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the United Nations to grasp the offensive and smash forward to an immediate military destruction of the fascist Axis."

This pledge is matched by action. At the recent A. F. of L. Southern War Labor Conference, President William Green was able to state of the nation's production achievements:

"Those record-breaking totals, which will strike terror to the hearts of our enemies, were made possible by the day in and day out work and devoted service of the great army of production soldiers."

Not so the "profits as usual" corporations! They and their protectors in Congress—the Vandenberg-Taft Republican controlling clique and the Southern Poll-Tax Democrats—have served notice of a legislative attack upon labor and the Administration. Labor's powerful contribution to the war effort has been blocked by obstacles placed in the way of the utilization and the functioning of the labor-management committees on the part of many employers. Ultra-reactionary, unpatriotic employers are adopting provocative policies, refusing to adjust grievances, dragging out negotiations, seeking to provoke a strike movement, and doing everything to break down confidence in the existing government coordinating agencies and to block the establishment of the centralized direction essential for the prosecution of the war production drive.

Labor must and will defeat the designs of the reactionary obstructionists.

It is the signal duty of organized labor to bring its forces together to a greater degree for common counsel and for common action in conjunction with all the patriotic forces of the people for aggressive support of the President's war program and for the defeat of the appeasers and obstructionists with their spokesmen in Congress. Labor will be enabled to render its maximum contribution to the war effort through achieving adequate representation in the government and on the governmental war boards.

Now, with the launching of offensive operations in North Africa and the crucial need for extending the offensive to the European continent, all-out centralized production becomes an indispensable condition for victory. The production goals which we must meet require the maximum mobilization of the country's industrial, agrarian, and manpower resources. They require economic stabilization through effective price control and total democratic rationing. They require the enforcement of a wage policy geared to production levels as an incentive for attaining higher productivity. All this can be achieved, not by piecemeal measures, but through the institution of centralized planning and control of the entire war economy, as proposed in the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore Bills now before Congress.

These are the problems of the Home Front. The people, with labor to the fore, must bring their pressure to bear for the quick adoption of the economic program required for victory.

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LINCOLN, ROOSEVELT, AND THE FIFTH COLUMN

BY MILTON HOWARD

EVERY progressive war has had to face the danger of the "enemy within"—the fifth column.

This fact is only beginning to be recognized as America moves on to the battlefields of its new war for national survival in a United Nations alliance against the world-wide aggressions of the Nazi Axis.

America listened with incomprehension, for the most part, to the warnings by which Earl Browder tried to bring to his countrymen the full significance, for America's national safety, of the 1937-38 Moscow trials.

The America of 1937-38 could not grasp the meaning of Hitler's fifth column in the Soviet Union only because it had almost forgotten the history of its own fifth column.

The nation had nearly forgotten that America, in its own three progressive wars—for independence ('76), for consolidation and extension of the gains of '76 (1812), and for democratic unification of the nation ('61)—had had to combat the dire danger of the Conway Cabal, of Benedict Arnold, of Aaron Burr; that it had had to contend with the secession intrigues of the Hartford Convention and the treason of the "blue-light Federalists."*

The nation had forgotten what its historians had never really taught it to remember—that the Copperhead defeatist conspiracy of the Civil War reached such proportions as nearly to wreck the Lincoln Administration's war leadership, and almost accomplished what world reaction had failed to do during the previous eighty years, namely, to overthrow the "American experiment," the democratic republic.

Revived History

To awaken the United States to the realization of world fascist aggression, Browder resurrected for the nation the consciousness of its own history. For the first time in the history of our nationhood, Browder established the continuous presence of an "enemy within," of a fifth column operating within the foremost democratic republic of the nineteenth century in the interests of world-wide reaction, and appearing as a distinct political formation

* So named because they signaled with such lights to the invader off shore.

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at every crucial moment in the evolution of the nation. To defend the true course of our national development, our present and future, it became urgent to restore the true significance of our past.

It has become a political necessity for the nation's war leadership today to master the grim lessons of President Lincoln's fight against the fifth column of the nineteenth century so that it can wage determined and effective warfare against the more widespread, more ominous and more ruthless fifth column within the United States which looks to Berlin as its political Mecca.

There is no doubt whatever that the inescapable necessities of our national war will compel, sooner or later, a decisive settling of accounts with the fifth column in the United States. For this, the government, labor and the people as a whole will have to deepen their understanding of what the fifth column really is (there exists only the beginning of such an understanding), where it must be sought (immature notions about this still prevail), and what must be done to crush it.

It is a sign of the times that the problem of the fifth column in our history is beginning to occupy the increasing attention of American scholars and historians, and that two new books have appeared* reviving the whole story. The country is beginning to arm itself ideologically for the showdown with the fifth column.

Professor Wood Gray, for example, perceives the current application of his researches.

"Men inspired by political ambition, or sympathetic with the philosophy of the enemy, or blinded by petty hatreds, will probably play the same role that their fellows have in the past. . . . These elements will unite in denouncing anyone who may attempt to arouse the nation to a sense of danger, and vehemently charge that person with having maufactured the danger, or even insist that he is more to be feared than the enemy" (p. 14).

In this complex of forces the leader and organizer of treason is the group "sympathetic with the philosophy of the enemy." There is the fountainhead of the fifth column.

That is what the Lincoln forces found out in their struggle to save the nation.

The Copperhead Plan

The slavocracy struck its blow at the United States in the characteristic manner of all reaction—suddenly, treacherously, after its victim had made concessions to the limit and had bemused itself with the notion that such an attack was "impossible."

The political leadership of the slave-owning reaction based its expectation of success on these calculations:

First, that the surprise attack would carry all before it, and prevent any adequate counter-attack.

Second, that the democratic forces would be unable to attain any effective unity, and this would be guar-

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* *The Hidden Civil War—Story of the Copperheads,* by Professor Wood Gray. Viking Press, New York, 1942.
Lincoln and the Fifth Column, by George F. Milton. Vanguard Press, New York, 1942.

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anteed by the presence of a strong "peace" party which would serve as a base of operations against Lincoln within his own camp.

Third, that the success of the first two factors would result in a coalition between the insurrectionary reaction and foreign powers of Europe, and that this coalition would bring armed intervention on the side of the anti-Lincoln uprising on the part of the world governments interested in destroying the advanced bourgeois democracy of the United States.

It will be seen that the cornerstone of this strategy is reliance on the political disunity of the democratic, national forces.

To ensure this disunity, the enemies of Lincoln's war program set to work. This was the beginning of the Copperhead conspiracy which included in its arsenal political obstructionism in Congress, defeatist propaganda in the press, confusing the morale and disintegrating the Lincoln armies, and even plans for armed uprising behind the lines in the North, with the seizure of arsenals, bridges and war factories.

The Democratic Party, which had been the political instrument of the reactionary forces, split on the news of the firing on Fort Sumter, with Senator Douglas, the leader of the Northern Democrats, pledging support to Lincoln despite his persistent platform of conciliating the slave power (he died in the first year of the war before he could either be tested or his policies made effective). Nevertheless, the Democratic Party of the 1860's became the rallying center for the Copperhead "peace sneaks" (as the Union soldiers contemptuously called them) just as the Hoover Republicans and the Poll-Tax Democrats have become the focal point for the "peace sneaks" of the pro-fascists today.

The intrigue of the Copperhead leaders was substantially assisted by the illusion prevalent, at first, in the democratic camp that the war could be waged in a "half-way" style—that is, without the necessary military and political mobilization and without any qualitative, democratic changes in the social formations of the nation. These illusions were embodied in the Rep. Crittenden-Sen. Johnson resolutions (from Kentucky and Tennessee, border states) of 1861:

> "This war is not waged for any purpose . . . of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the states."

The Copperhead forces quickly perceived in this timid, appeaser-infected formulation of war aims their awaited opportunity.

Their newspapers, which existed in every state in great numbers, and their spokesmen in Congress, proclaimed their war aim: "The Union as it was and the Constitution as it is." This definition was merely the first stage in the propaganda of defeatism, since it was based on the Copperheads' awareness that it would be impossible to wage war retaining "the Constitution as it is" in the sense in which the defeatists construed the Constitution; nor

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would it be possible to create the necessary national unity or rouse the necessary mass forces merely to restore the "Union as it was."

That is to say, the first goal of the Copperhead conspiracy was to create the artificial and treasonable distinction between the winning of the war and the "methods" employed to win it.

Professor Gray notes this as one of the basic aspects of the anti-Lincoln fifth column, and one of its central methods for concealing its treason. This banner enabled them to assert their support for victory while making impossible the enforcement of every measure necessary for victory.*

Fifth Column Ideas

The political propaganda of President Lincoln's enemies, as elaborated by Professor Gray, centered on the following points:

That the conquest of the slave power would militarize the country and lead to a Lincoln "despotism."

That Lincoln had "provoked" the aggressions of the slave-owners by his refusal to concede their "needs."

That the slave power had the Constitutional right of "self-determination" which Lincoln was violating.

That in winning the war we would lost our "civil rights."

That Lincoln would have to violate the rights of Congress to win, and, therefore, would end with the seizure by the President of "excessive power."

There were many variations of this propaganda, which was manufactured not only by Copperhead press and politicians here, but was also imported in great quantities from the foreign centers of world reaction in London, Paris, Madrid and Vienna.

The reader will easily see that the defeatist propaganda contained then, as it does now, a pattern in which the basic trickery is to manipulate democratic forms for the vilest reactionary content, substituting formalism and traditional practices for the real relationship of forces (thus Jefferson Davis was called the "George Washington of the Confederacy" and the progressive revolutionary defense of democratic unity was assailed as violation of democracy).

The methodology of disruption fastened on every sectional and class prejudice, every antagonism of interest real and imaginary, to be*cloud the over-riding issue.* Thus, the "peace" newspapers harped on the dislike of New England in the West, the fear of "federal power" traditional in a still incompletely developed nation, on conservative uneasiness over "abolitionist radicalism."

The Illinois Copperhead press (owned in Chicago by the McCormick family, which today owns the

* In this respect, Mr. Milton's book is unwittingly conciliatory to the Copperhead movement and fails to grasp the political basis of its treasons. This is seen in his prejudiced hostility to the boldest and most consistent anti-Copperhead force in the country, the Radical Republicans, whose abolition goal he describes as a "secret revolution," failing to see that this "secret revolution" became the policy of the Lincoln Government and the nation when it became clear that Abolitionism was the real content of the struggle and the sole path to national preservation.

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defeatist *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Daily News)* charged that the "East had provoked secession by her abolitionist fanaticism . . . yet was contributing nothing to the war." Lincoln was depicted (in a Currier and Ives print) as leading "radicals, free lovers, women's rights advocates, Negroes, agitators against property and religion."

The Copperhead press exaggerated defeats, minimized democracy's strength, warned that Negro labor "would compete with white." Above all, the defeatist press in the Northern states pounded on the fear of conservative landlord and industrial circles that Lincoln's war leadership was making for social changes perilous to property, pointing to the Homestead Act (providing free land in the West) and the assertiveness of the newly-developed labor movement, and the advance of reform movements linked to the Abolitionist Left wing.

Professor Gray notes that the defeatists assiduously fomented the dilemma in the conservative ranks of the North:

"Would it not be possible to oppose the civilian domestic program of the Administration without engaging in obstruction of the war policy as well?" (p. 91).

Copperhead Generals

Here the familiar "dilemma" between the domestic program of the war leadership and its foreign policy is seen in its original form; it has operated in every period of the nation's fight for untrammeled progressive development.

The Copperhead view of the war found expression in the policies of the army's military leader, General McClellan. McClellan was to denounce the Emancipation Proclamation to his soldiers later in the war; in its early stages he presented to Lincoln a peremptory demand for severe political limits on the composition and aims of the armed forces.

"McCellan's letter to the President stated that the rebellion had become a war and must be conducted on the highest principles known to Christian civilization. [That is, the military leader of the North was granting to the slave power the very sovereignty which was at stake.]

"The Administration must avoid . . . forcible abolition of slavery. . . . Unless it would announce and the Government follow a 'constitutional and conservative' policy of this type enlistments would come to an end . . . and worse still 'a declaration of Radical views would disintegrate our present armies.'" (G. F. Milton, p. 101.)

Motivated by this Copperhead political viewpoint, McClellan worked out a military policy of refusal to attack or invade the enemy's position in any kind of offensive strategy. (He was afflicted with the "slows," Lincoln said.)

The Copperhead-Democratic defensive military leadership of McClellan resulted in a series of military disasters which became the main weapon used to cripple Lincoln in Congress in the 1862 mid-war elections. It was the mass dissatisfaction with the inaction and

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defensive military program of the Army, identified by the masses with the Lincoln government, which gave the Democratic Copperhead "opposition" a series of sweeping electoral successes.

Professor Gray notes that—

"Certain in advance of the votes of the peace advocates, they took care to alienate no supporters of the war who might be won over through dislike of arbitrary acts of government, disapproval of emancipation or uneasiness about alleged incompetence. . . . Men in the party who nursed peace-at-any-price sentiments apparently carefully avoided raising this issue in the campaign, but occasionally a chink would appear, revealing the sentiments hidden beneath the surface." (p. 103) And further he notes the Copperhead "peace" strategy was based "on reaping as large a harvest as possible among advocates of the war policy who were for any reason discontented with the Administration" (p. 114).

In Congress, the leader of the "negotiated peace" forces, Rep. Vallandigham of Ohio, carried the theory of sabotage to a new level when he enunciated the view that the country faced "two rebellions," the one in the slave states for which he had only the mildest criticism, and the "abolition rebellion," which he hoped the Northern "peace party" would not have to be "compelled to resist with bullets" (p. 104). To the government's "abolition radicalism" he attributed the "violation of civil rights," which, he thundered, was the sole election issue.

Of this maneuver in Congress, Professor Gray notes: "For the most part the Democratic Party did not permit the mask which it had adopted for the duration of the campaign to slip even to this extent. . . . For the time being, for political reasons, peace sentiments were kept under cover" (pp. 104-6). Pursuing his increasingly bolder bid for surrender (while many of his colleagues supported him silently), Vallandigham introduced a resolution declaring that any Government official, civil or military, elected or appointed, "attempting to pervert the war's purpose" should be adjudged "guilty of high treason." Urging a deal with the reactionary insurrection which would leave it not only in substantial possession of its positions, but in a stronger position from which to reach out for complete control of the nation's destiny, Vallandigham harped on his sophistical warning to the masses: "You will not have one remnant of the civil liberty left available to you" (p. 120). This, Professor Gray remarks, was pointing to a new stage in the political relation of the defeatists to the Lincoln government: "It was the beginning of an attempt to release the Democratic Party from any further support of the war."

On this platform, and with energetic exploitation of the mass discontent created by McClellan's uninterrupted military disasters growing out of his "go slow-defensive" policy, the "peace sneaks" swept confidently into the mid-war election expecting success on the platform that they had "withdrawn their consent, not to the war, but to

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the way it was being conducted." (G. F. Milton, p. 130). They did indeed reap a temporary victory, capturing many new seats in Congress, overwhelming the Governorships of such key northern states as New York and Illinois.

Soon after, the defeatist New York governor Seymour called the entire war into question with the challenge that what President Lincoln would do "would determine in the minds of more than half the country whether the war was waged to put down rebellion or destroy free institutions" (p. 168).

Indicative of the extent of the defeatist challenge which Lincoln faced up to the very last phase of the war, the 1864 elections saw the Copperhead party nominate General McClellan as the opponent of Lincoln. McClellan had the support of Vallandigham and Governor Seymour, and Pendleton, a notorious "peace at any price" man, was his running mate.

The effort to subvert Lincoln's war leadership was at its height on the very eve of Lincoln's triumph. It was a conspiracy involving treasonable relations with the enemy. It had engineered armed resistance to the draft in the New York draft riots where, two years earlier, the Mayor had urged the secession of the city as a gesture of protest against the Lincoln leadership. It had confidently counted on seizing control of the government in the North, or, failing that, on provoking intervention by reactionary governments abroad. The absence of decisive military successes contributed greatly to the seeming irresistibility of the defeatist forces. Privately, Lincoln noted that his re-election did not seem probable.

It may be well to mention here that it is the almost universal custom of traditional American historians to condone the hesitations of Lincoln at this "border state" period of this policy; a hesitation which showed itself in Lincoln's reluctance to break with the McClellan leadership as urged by the Radical Republicans—since excoriated by almost every bourgeois historian for their correct insistance on an aggressive war policy. The nation became safer and Lincoln greater to the degree that he dropped the McClellan leadership and its defensive, appeaser policy. His delays, howevr, in establishing an all-out war program undoubtedly delayed victory.

The mass forces destined to shatter the Copperhead intrigues were germinating powerfully beneath the surface. Lincoln's own actions were to play a leading part in bringing them to the surface. Lincoln, cognizant of the Copperhead challenge, was compelled by the war's logic to bring into play the mass forces which alone could thwart the defeatist challenge.

To sum up the answer which Lincoln found for the Copperheads, we may say that he doomed that conspiracy to defeat when he shifted from his appeaser, "border state" policy to his "abolition policy"; when he ceased his effort to hold the support of the border state slaveowners and decided on the ruthless

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military offensive embodied in the Grant-Sherman tactic of annihilating the enemy on his own soil. Confronted by the rising strength of the Copperheads, Lincoln had to decide whether he would rest his pro-Union coalition on the forces resisting the abolitionist content of the war, or whether he would base his coalition on the abolition-minded masses of the North and pursue a policy which would rouse for the Union cause active support of the masses in other countries. Lincoln found that political-military policy in the combination of Emancipation, on the one hand, and invasion of the enemy's position on the other. He pursued this policy even though the mid-winter elections of 1862 apparently "punished" his preliminary September announcement of Emancipation by bringing him nearly overwhelming defeats. For what Lincoln saw in these elections was the beginning of the mass upswing precisely in the border states where Lincoln candidates won the only victories of the election. This was the harbinger of the powerful mass upswing which gave Lincoln his electoral victory in 1865, and which revealed the fatal defeatist miscalculation of the real sentiment of the nation.

Lincoln had found, in his mass policy, the weapon that broke the defeatist calculation of linking the uprising of native reaction to world reaction. In this he was, as is well known, greatly helped by the activities of Karl Marx and the First International, for which Lincoln gave official thanks to that workingclass Communist organization. It is well to recall that Marx's great contribution to America's victory in the 1860's was not confined to his mobilization of the European masses against reactionary intervention but included also his struggle for a correct line for the American working class in its relationship to the Lincoln leadership. Marx was scathing in his opposition to the sectarian blindness of some "communists" in America who scorned the progressive-national war against the slavocracy because it was "bourgeois" and not "socialist" in its aims.

Throughout this extensive recital of the Copperhead challenge of the anti-Lincoln "peace party" the reader will have unquestionably been impressed with the astonishing similarity, in many cases, between the political slogans of the anti-Lincoln saboteurs and the propaganda of the Quislings of our own day. How literally the same cries echo . . . "executive usurpation" . . . "no civil liberties" . . . "radicalism" . . . "victory—but no reforms.". . .

Yet, today's defeatists are not merely the historical reappearance of the old gang, though they are its social descendants. Old-fashioned reaction, based merely on fear of loss of cotton trade or of such "radicalism" as trade unionism, women's suffrage, and similar mild expressions of bourgeois-democratic advances, is nothing like the virulent treason of the modern Munichmen.

Something has been added to the traditional reaction of the anti-Lincoln Copperheads; there is a qualitative degeneration among

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the Copperheads today of the very concept of *nationhood,* which makes them the deadliest menace to our nation in all its history. It is an atrophy of even the bourgeois-democratic sense of nationality which the world sees in the Vichyist *desire for Nazi domination* and leadership as the alternative to collaboration with the democratic forces for national defense.

This expresses itself as increasing revulsion from the idea of independent nationhood which is seen as the breeding ground of "communism." (The Hearst press has recently warned that "patriotism can become communism.") Defense of the nation evokes, as a military necessity, the forces of democracy, in all classes in varying degrees, and compels political collaboration with the working class of a kind which strengthens its national role. *An increasing readiness to sacrifice the achievements of the nation's entire national development marks the outlook of the Herbert Hoover-Martin Dies-Senator Wheeler types, who are evolving into the modern, more virulent expression of the Copperhead—that is, into the Laval-man.*

This is what the war leadership of the country, President Roosevelt, the labor movement and the population in general need to grasp clearly —that a new class of traitor is breeding inside America, that it is a definite social group moving toward betrayal of the nation to Nazi Germany because it fears that resistance to Nazi Germany will produce "communism" in the United States. Fear of "communism" (excited deliberately also by the Goebbels propaganda) has suppressed in this group its sense of national self-preservation.

It is still a serious defect of the Government's internal policy that it tends to accept the viewpoint of the appeaser press which describes the enemies of the war effort as "critics." The Government and the win-the-war press tend to view the Laval-men as "misguided patriots" who happen to "differ" with the war policy or its execution, but who cannot be viewed as "the enemy within." The fifth column is sought too often among that small group of alien saboteurs planted in this country; it is forgotten that the real fifth column never consists of imported saboteurs, but of *native reactionaries* who have gone over to treason. The Quisling is never a foreigner; he is always a leading politician of the victim country, leading a section of one of the upper classes which has decided to exist as the subservient puppet of Nazi Germany rather than risk a progressive national war in the twentieth century.

The defeatists of the Hoover Republican group (together with the Wheeler-Reynolds Democrats) are profoundly "anti-national," and are prepared to pursue a policy which can only lead to *national extinction.* They foresee in the anti-Hitler war the advance of democracy to hundreds of millions, and the rise of new social formations which the "older imperialism" no longer suffices to suppress since the "mother

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country" itself faces national subjugation at Berlin-Tokio's hands. With such motivations they have made the decision to accept a place in the world fascist "New Order." They are ready, therefore, to betray their own national class group to the "anti-communist" conqueror. They are in the most literal sense prepared to sacrifice, not only the working class to the conqueror, but the *financial-industrial interests of their own class.* They are prepared to turn over the control of their class possessions to the conqueror who is more equipped, in their view, to protect them. That in this process they are reduced to the level of terrorized and looted servants, as in France and the Axis satellite countries, does not dissuade them. They are, therefore, in the process of betraying the *ruling class* as well as the other classes of the United States to the conquest of Nazi Germany and Japan.

This is what the war leadership has got to see, and the view on which it must base its action.

President Roosevelt and Vice President Wallace made an encouraging turn toward the education of the country to the realization of the true character of the fifth column and its location. The President's speech assailing "the sixth columnists" (those who repeat fifth column views) was a beginning, though it is debatable whether the President's sharp distinction between the fifth and "sixth" column really holds as firmly in actual practice as he implied. Wallace's stinging rebuke to Martin Dies, and his implication that Dies' Red-baiting was a product of Goebbels-like activity was a distinct contribution to the anti-fifth column struggle.

Wallace's speech was the first to hint that the fifth column of the United States is finding its embodiment in such political formations as the Dies Committee. The labor movement has begun to move toward an even clearer grasp of this truth, with the C.I.O. convention formally denouncing the Dies Committee as a menace to the war effort, including in its denunciation the Copperhead press (*Cricago Tribune, New York Daily News,* and the Hearst press).

But these beginnings have not been permitted to develop into a powerful political struggle. The views of Attorney-General Biddle, in which the Communist Party is slandered in terms of prejudice and misinformation borrowed from typical fifth column attitudes, have undoubtedly hampered the fight against the fifth column, which has indeed been encouraged by Biddle's views.

The 78th Congress will see new and dangerous efforts by defeatists to betray the nation through the continuation of the Dies Committee and the establishment of super-Dies Committees as proposed by the Michigan fascist Congressman, Clare Hoffman. The Government's arrest of the twenty-eight American fascist leaders of the "crackpot fringe" is a good start in the fight against the fifth column, but it merely nibbles at the problem which lies in a struggle to unmask and curb the

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fifth column within the defeatist wings of the Republican and Democratic Parties. The alarm of such Congressional leaders as Senators Wheeler and Taft at the arrest of the native Nazi propagandists like Mrs. Dilling, Pelley, etc., only confirms for the public the intimate link between the more brazen pro-Hitlerites and their Congressional counterparts.

President Roosevelt's fighting message to the new Congress was weakened by this hesitation in striking out at the fifth column operating against him, and by a failure to summon the nation to struggle against it.

Delay in opening this struggle will be costly, as it was costly to Lincoln. The nation, and the labor movement (which has its own Copperheads in such persons as John L. Lewis), need to develop a clear policy of united struggle against the defeatists. The achievement of this is, indeed, a precondition to destroying the nation's Axis enemies.

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THE NATION AND THE ARMED FORCES

BY MAX WEISS

EVERY patriotic force in the country is vitally interested in making a maximum contribution to the national effort for the development of policies which will result in building and training a large, disciplined army, navy and air force, suitably equipped, staffed and educated for offensive action so that victory may be won in the shortest possible time.

The questions that arise in the course of hammering out such policies by our country are not exclusively military questions. They have an intimate relation to all other phases of the nation's war effort and can be solved, as can all others, only to the degree that the whole nation participates in their solution. To think that such questions must be left to the military alone for solution is to misunderstand the nature of this total people's war.

As a matter of fact, all such questions inevitably press upon the whole nation for an answer from the moment they arise. How vigorously they project themselves onto the public arena can be seen from the prominence attained by the pre-Pearl Harbor vote on extension of the draft to two years; by the Soldier's Vote Bill, in which was included elimination of the poll tax; by discussion of policies guiding the method of operation of Selective Service; by the lowering of the draft age to the 18-19-year class; by the current discussions around the projected size of the army as well as its relation to production and civilian economy.

At certain moments the decision of policies governing the maximum strengthening of our nation's armed forces has been seized upon by the appeasement and defeatist elements with the aim of injuring the cause of our nation and our allies. That is why it is incumbent upon every patriotic force within the camp of national unity to concern itself with contributing to the national effort for the adoption of correct policies for the building up of our armed forces—the striking force for victory.

While the labor movement has in the past carried through a minimum of activity in connection with the material welfare of the armed forces it has participated either not at all or too late to be really effective, with all sections of the population in helping decide such vital issues of policy as, for example, the extension of the draft to the 18 to 19-

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year-old class. The result has been that on many questions the defeatists have been able to utilize the struggle around these issues for their obstructive purposes; or to take demagogic advantage of universally popular legislation for the welfare of the armed forces to advance their own defeatist aims. The labor movement should end this tendency toward detachment from the general civic activity in support of the armed forces and begin seriously to concern itself with all questions which arise in the process of building our armed forces into a mighty striking force for victory.

* * *

Considerable discussion has recently developed around policies governing the size of the army. The defeatists have fought against the policy of building a mass army. For example, they have utilized the Seversky Plan as an argument against the building of a large army on the fallacious grounds that a large army is unnecessary because victory will be won by air power, a thesis which the whole experience of the war has disproven. Lately the *New York Daily News* and the *Chicago Tribune* have been developing their campaign against the building of a large army on the ground that our task is simply to send our equipment to the Soviet, British and Chinese soldiers already in the field and to let them do the fighting. At the same time, it should be added, these papers fight treacherously against lease-lend aid to our Allies. Quite obviously, the aim of this defeatist camp is to prevent the development of an offensive military policy and is a variation of its whole struggle against the second front.

The discussion of this question has brought forth certain proposals which, on the surface, would seem to be the exact opposite of the defeatist demand for a small army. In reality, however, they are similar in their objective effect upon the cause of victory. These proposals call for the building of an army of 15,000,000 to 18,000,000 men. They are based on a policy of postponing any offensive military action until 1944 or 1945, when such an army will have been built and equipped. They are based on the expectation that one or more of our Allies will collapse in the near future and that America must prepare itself "to win victory over Hitler alone." Such proposals would have disastrous consequences if adopted, since they would mean creating insuperable obstacles to an immediate offensive. In addition to disrupting our industrial and agricultural war-power supply, they would require our concentration on the production of training equipment instead of offensive equipment for immediate combat. They would mean concentration on the development of cadre forces constantly withdrawn from army units and spread out into newly activated divisions instead of concentration on whipping into shape finished divisions ready to be thrown into immediate action.

As against both of these disastrous policies the Administration and the War Department are following a fundamentally correct course for the building of a mass army. This policy

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takes into account three fundamental factors: first, the need for immediate offensive action by our troops, as evidenced in the current North African offensive; secondly, the recognition of our country's responsibilities in a coalition war in which we must pull our own weight and do our own fighting in order to achieve a united victory; and, thirdly, the relating of the tempo of increase of our armed forces to all problems of industrial and agricultural manpower. These vital considerations are at the bottom of War Secretary Stimson's correct proposals for an army of 7,500,000 and a total armed force of 9,500,000 for 1943.

The army our country is building today is not only bigger than it has been; it is no longer exactly the same kind of army which existed only as recently as two and a half years ago. The people's character of the war and the military necessities which have emerged from the people's character of this war have resulted in important advances in the building of a democratic army of citizen-soldiers. All patriotic forces must appreciate the changes which have begun to take place in the character of the army, give them their full support and lend their weight and influence toward speeding up and strengthening these changes.

* * *

One of the most important steps toward building a really democratic army of citizen-soldiers was made with the inauguration of a planned system of political education for the officers and men of the United States Army. Late last year the War Department issued directives for the preparation of a series of fifteen orientation lectures on the background of the war to be delivered to all officers and soldiers in the army. Simultaneously there was inaugurated a system of continuing lectures to be delivered from time to time by civilian experts, as well as methods for continuous presentation of current events to all troops through bulletin boards and by other means.

This innovation marks the beginning of the end of a whole era in which the approach to the army was one of "Theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die." It indicates the beginnings of a recognition that, in this people's war, political understanding of the issues involved in the war is an indispensable factor for victory and the basis for a superior type of military discipline. This attitude toward the political education of our soldiers is fittingly expressed in the two quotations printed on the flyleaf of the program for the education of the Second Army commanded by General Ben Lear:

"The genius of this people is that one must first explain—and then give the order." (Von Steuben, 1778.)

"One who knows what he fights for and loves what he knows." (Cromwell's definition of the citizen-soldier in 1653.)

The labor movement and the whole people applaud this step to-

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ward building a democratic army of citizen-soldiers who know what they fight for and love what they know. They are vitally concerned that this education, by the energy with which the program is executed and the basic character of its content, really have the desired result.

In this connection it is worth taking note of certain opinions about the content of the basic army orientation lectures as advanced in a review of these lectures published in the *Infantry Journal* of July, 1942:

". . . I would like to have seen in this book a good deal more to stir the blood. It is well enough to think that terrible facts speak for themselves. But in historical writings done to explain to an army just why the hell it had to be formed and how, in all probability, it would soon be fighting along with the rest of the world, a little more steam, it seems to me, might have put the biggest thought in the world over a lot better. The idea of presenting the return to barbarism calmly must have had sound reasons behind it. 'From first to last,' says the foreword, one basic principle has guided those who were charged with execution of the directive—namely, that propaganda, in the normal acceptance of that term, was neither necessary nor desirable. The pattern of events, fully disclosed, can lend but one conclusion, one fixed purpose on the part of any loyal American. 'Truth ever has most strength of what men say.'

"Yes, but there is—except perhaps in mathematics textbooks — more than one way of telling the truth. You can tell it with dullness, you can tell it interestingly, with a gentlemanly calm disturbed but seldom by emphasis, or you can hammer it home so nobody forgets for a second the point you're driving at. And there has never been a point more worth hammering home in the history of the planet, or one harder to miss with the hammer, than the point of this book. For it was and is the whole point of civilization."

The appeal of this writer in the *Infantry Journal* for "a good deal more to stir the blood" in the content and presentation of the Army Education program is timely and pertinent. For, in the last analysis, this appeal can only be answered by putting at the very foundation of the educational activities of the army an understanding of the nature of fascism and the great war aims of our country as presented in the speeches of President Roosevelt, Vice President Wallace, Sumner Welles and Wendell Willkie. For any army thoroughly educated as regards the bestial nature of the fascist enemy against whom it is fighting and the great goals toward which the United Nations are striving will have its blood stirred by hatred of the enemy and its heart inspired by great ideals. It will be an invincible force.

An unfortunate feature of the educational program worked out by the army authorities is its limited extent. After the prescribed orientation lectures have been delivered—or movies dramatizing these lectures shown—there is an end to the political education of the ranks. Beyond the bulletin board on which the various Army units carry clippings of the most important news of the

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day, there is no further effort to continue this education.

Hence the proposal advanced by Mrs. Roosevelt that continuing discussion groups be organized in the Army to be led by officers on "what the war is all about" is entirely in order and presents itself as the logical next step in building a democratic army of citizen-soldiers who "know what they fight for and love what they know."

Important changes have been introduced in the policy of the Army for training and developing its officer corps along more democratic lines. These changes have begun to take place in three main directions:

1. The War Department's maximum age policy for retirement from active command of all over-age officers according to a definite schedule of ages for each rank has already resulted in the elimination of a considerable number of superannuated officers previously continued in command owing to the pernicious seniority system. This rejuvenation of the officer corps has, accordingly, begun to make way for rapid promotion of younger, more virile officers.

2. This policy of rejuvenation has also been supplemented by a serious and considerable modification of the harmful seniority system. The new system of temporary promotions introduced by the War Department allows commanders in the field to promote up to 100 per cent of all officers under the rank of general on the basis of their fitness and ability rather than their seniority.

3. The third important change in the direction of a democratic and militarily correct officer policy is the system of placing emphasis on promotion into the officer corps directly from the ranks instead of through commissions bestowed on civilians who — except for certain highly trained specialists — have no more place in the officer corps than the man in the moon. This new emphasis has been brought about by a tremendous expansion in the Officer Candidate Schools, which in 1942 alone were given the task of training 75,000 new commissioned officers taken directly from the ranks. According to Secretary of War Stimson, the positive experiences of these Officer Candidate Schools and the painful experience with the practice of commissioning individuals from civilian life have led to the decision to place the chief stress on building the officer corps through such Officer Candidate Schools for the non-commissioned soldiers in the ranks.

Undoubtedly the basis of selection of officer material will now for the most part be conditioned by the fact that our armed forces are now beginning to get into action. For it is on the field of combat that the qualities which should be possessed by the officers of the armed services come most quickly and clearly to the fore. It is in the growing masses of our servicemen who have gone through the fire of battle that the greatest source of our officer material will be found.

One more important change in the policy of training officer leadership still remains to be made. This requires an abandonment of the prej-

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udice in favor of selecting for officer training those with college degrees or advanced formal education. This prejudice results in the absence of maximum opportunities for workers without formal education but with all qualities of character and leadership ability requisite for military leadership to become officers. In the interests of strengthening the leadership of the Army, the doors must be opened wide for the sons of workers to become officers.

It is true that the high degree of mechanization of our armed forces places a premium on technical training and education. But the plan now being put into operation by the Army and Navy for the training of soldiers and sailors at the colleges and universities of the country eliminates even that objection to the most rapid promotion of workers into posts of leadership. For if the soldiers and sailors selected to attend these special courses at the colleges and universities are selected without regard to their economic status or their previous attendance at institutions of higher learning, as the plan calls for, the lack of formal higher education no longer remains an obstacle to the promotion of the sons of workers into posts of leadership even in the specialized branches of the service.

One of the most significant measures yet taken to strengthen the democratic character of our Army was the passage of the Soldier's Vote Bill. For by giving the men in our armed forces the right to vote, a right which the soldiers in the regular army did not (and by the way, still do not) have, an artificially erected barrier separating the armed forces from the people and the life of the nation whose existence they are defending has been removed. An especially noteworthy feature of the Soldier's Vote Bill is the provision eliminating the operation of poll-tax requirements for the soldier's vote. In fact, in this particular sense, democracy has been further advanced in the Army than in the country at large.

Labor has the responsibility together with all patriotic sections of the population for seeing to it that the various states adopt policies in relation to the absentee voting of soldiers which will transform the right given to soldiers into a reality. The last elections indicated that only a small percentage of the men in the armed forces actually cast their ballots. To a large extent, this was the result of the lack of adaptation by the states of prevailing regulations for casting and counting absentee ballots to new conditions created by the existence of a mass army. It becomes a task of the labor movement to cooperate with all civic forces in the different states to reexamine existing regulations and make such legislative changes as are necessary in each case to make it possible for the Army to participate fully in the process of democratic citizenship.

An especially heavy responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the labor movement and the whole people to guarantee that the poll-tax bourbons and defeatists of the South do not circumvent the enfranchisement

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of the Southern Negro soldiers, heretofore barred from the vote by poll-tax requirements. This requires alertness in preventing the cancellation of the vote of Southern Negro soldiers by the reactionary political machines and election officialdom.

* * *

The full integration of Negroes into the Army and Navy without discrimination or segregation is vital to the maximum strengthening of our country's armed forces. The existence of Jim-Crow practices in the Army is a flagrant denial of the democratic rights of the Negro people and a blow at national unity. It deprives our country of the full services of Negro youth, whose fighting ability has received eloquent testimony in the long history of our country's wars and has most recently been dramatized anew by the heroic exploits of Dorie Miller and Charles French. It weakens the military and moral strength of America's contribution to the struggle for freedom in the eyes of our Allies and brings grist to the mill of Hitler and his agents.

As a result of the general struggle of labor and the people for the full integration of the Negro people in all phases of the war effort, certain important advances have been made in beginning to break down a few of the barriers to the full integration of Negro youth in the Army. The discriminatory Negro quota system which all but excluded Negro youth from the Army has been practically abolished. Negro soldiers are now admitted into certain combat branches of the armed service, such as the Army air corps, tank and anti-tank, cavalry and artillery units. The Navy is beginning to train Negroes as "reservists" for ratings other than that of messboy. An increasing number of Negro officers are being trained at the Officer Candidate Schools.

All these steps forward, however, positive and significant as they are, have been made on the basis of retaining the scandalous policy of segregated Negro regiments and units, most of which are usually assigned to labor battalion work instead of combat duty.

Only in the Officer Candidate Schools is there no segregation, with Negro and white officers being trained at the same schools in at least ten places throughout the country. This significant step forward in breaking down the policy of segregation is a shattering blow to all arguments that mixed units are not "practicable." The experiences of the mixed Officer Candidate Schools show that it can be done. It must be done. For some time now, many organizations have advocated the formation by the War Department, on a volunteer basis, of mixed units of Negro and white troops. This would be a tremendous advance in the direction of bringing about the full integration of the Negro youth into the armed forces. All patriotic forces should lend the full weight of their influence and strength in advocating that the War Department inaugurate such a policy.

In addition to this, it is necessary that the Army take the lead in improving relations between Negro

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and white servicemen by officially organizing education on inter-racial relations within the armed forces. If it is good military policy to issue a special pamphlet to the troops invading North Africa designed to establish correct relations between our Army and the colored peoples of Africa, then it is surely in order to educate our own troops on the correct relations that should exist between Negro and white troops in our own Army. Such educational work accompanied by the greatest possible expansion of the Negro M.P. personnel and the organization of mixed white and Negro M.P. patrols is absolutely necessary to put an end to the series of clashes which have continually recurred.

The labor movement and all patriotic forces have a further responsibility in this regard in every state, city and community. For the solution of the problem we have been discussing is not exclusively one of Army policy. Some of the most serious problems arise in the relationship of Negro soldiers to the white communities in which they are stationed and in which they must find their recreation in their leisure time and on furlough. It is here that all patriotic forces must be especially alert and active in promoting solidarity of Negro soldiers and white civilians in order to forestall and prevent intimidation and provocations against Negro troops engineered by anti-Negro elements. In fact, every strengthening of the struggle on the home front for the full integration of the Negro people in the war effort, whether it be in the fight for jobs, or on the question of housing, or in civilian defense, helps advance the steps necessary to bring about the full integration of the Negro youth in the armed forces.

* * *

Several thousand Communists, including scores who are veterans of the fight against fascism in Spain, have answered our country's call to the colors. Additional thousands of militant anti-fascists, many of whom also fought in Spain, without any Communist affiliation or belief, have likewise donned the uniform of the armed forces. All of them are animated by a deep love of our country and a burning, unquenchable hatred for fascism.

Some of these Communists and anti-fascists without party affiliation, have already proven their mettle in the fire of battle. Outstanding among them are Captain Herman Boettcher, veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, called the "one man army" because of his exploits in the New Guinea sector; and Bob Thompson, also a veteran of the war against fascism in Spain and, before his military service, the National Vice President of the Young Communist League. Thompson was publicly commended by the general commanding his sector in the Buna area after he led a daring charge which destroyed four Japanese pill-boxes.

There are thousands of such Communists and non-party anti-fascists who, given the chance, would prove themselves in the same way. Unfortunately, however, a twisted and perverted reasoning by officials of

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the War Department will make it impossible for these proven anti-fascists to serve our country on the field of battle unless the policy which now prevails is changed. The fact of the matter is that the War Department has issued instructions that all Communists in the armed forces, and other anti-fascists indiscriminately called Communists by the War Department, be classified together with Nazis and Italian fascist sympathizers. Numerous instances are already on record of such Communists and other anti-fascists being herded into military labor camps together with enemies of our country. Others have been arbitrarily removed from combat units and assigned to non-combat units.

And what is the reason for this attitude toward Communists and anti-fascists in the armed forces? They are treated as enemies of the country, people not to be trusted, for no other reason than that they have championed a policy of friendship with the Soviet Union, our proven Ally!

Is it not high time that such twisted and perverted reasoning, which refuses to distinguish between our country's friends and enemies, be straightened out? The people of our country have a right to know about the warped and dangerous thinking of certain official circles in the War Department who determine policy for our Army. This matter can and should no longer be hushed up for fear of embarrassing the war effort. It is the policy now being followed which puts our war effort in jeopardy. If this situation can be cleared up only as a result of public discussion, then there should by all means be such public discussion.

* * *

The final point that must be stressed in emphasizing labor's responsibilities in helping our country build a powerful armed force is the development of the closest relations between the trade unions and the men in the armed forces. It is true that many unions have Servicemen's Welfare Committees of one type or another. But these committees do not exist in all unions nor do they in most cases carry on more than a routine and inconsistent activity. It is necessary for the trade unions to do more than establish such a committee and then relegate its work to a subordinate, inconsequential role. The unions must seriously discuss and actually formulate a well-rounded-out program of activities and projects that will bring the whole trade union movement into active participation in the vital work of establishing a close bond between the labor movement and the boys in the armed service along the following lines:

1. The unions should organize demonstrative expressions of their solidarity and support to the boys in the armed forces. An excellent lead in this direction was given by the organization of the "Salute to the Armed Forces" in Central Park on Labor Day by the New York C.I.O. in connection with the U.S.O. and the City government. Of a similar character was the "Salute to Negro Troops" carried out in Har-

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lem some time ago and participated in by all important sections of the community. Such demonstrative acts of solidarity can be suitably organized in connection with the dedication of service flags by the trade unions in honor of their members serving in the armed forces.

2. The trade unions should also take steps to strengthen their direct contact with the boys in the armed forces by arranging, in cooperation with the proper military and naval authorities, for the exchange of delegations between the unions and the training camps and stations of the armed services. Here again, the example of the New York C.I.O. which organized such a delegation to visit the training camps near New York can be profitably followed in other cities. These delegations—to the extent that wartime regulations permit them to visit the camps—should be supplemented by periodically inviting Army and Navy delegations to attend union membership meetings, mass meetings and conventions. To some extent the Army and Navy are developing such activities by sending soldiers, sailors and officers to speak at plant meetings in an effort to stimulate production and in connection with the awarding of Army and Navy insignias. But the practice of sending such delegations to union meetings has yet to be developed and should be stimulated by the unions themselves.

Such direct contact between the unions and the members serving in the armed forces should also be developed by guaranteeing that every union member called up for service is automatically put on the mailing list to receive all union newspapers and periodicals. In turn, these newspapers and periodicals should regularly devote space to news or letters from the boys in the service insofar as this is consistent with the regulations of the War Department for wartime censorship. The publication by unions of small pamphlets containing letters sent to the union by the boys in the service, as was done by the Furriers Joint Council in New York, has tremendous value in strengthening the bonds between the boys in the service and the unions.

3. The trade unions should concern themselves with systematic attention to the material needs of the boys in the armed forces. Special appropriations should be voted in all unions which will guarantee that the union can periodically send such items as cigarettes, tobacco, razor blades, etc., to its members in the armed forces. They should mobilize the whole membership of the unions to participate in donating books which the union will send to Army and Navy camp libraries.

The unions should not limit such activity to their own members in the armed forces. Wherever this is feasible, trade unions either individually or through central bodies should take patronage over certain regiments or camps situated in their locality. The facilities of trade union halls and recreation rooms should be thrown open to the servicemen from these units, with regular social and recreational activities organized after the fashion of the various servicemen's can-

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teens. Games should be organized between servicemen's and labor sports teams. The Army and Navy authorities have already shown every willingness to cooperate in carrying through such activities where they have been organized by other groups and organizations.

4. The trade unions should develop a greater degree of cooperation with the United Service Organizations in its fund raising campaigns, in carrying through social and recreational programs at the various U.S.O. headquarters. In fact, the time has come to ask for the inclusion of the trade union movement in the direct policy-making and program administration work of the U.S.O. Certainly there is no organization or agency or movement which has a higher percentage of its members in the armed forces of all the agencies of which the U.S.O. now consists than the trade union movement. The inclusion of representatives of the trade union movement in the U.S.O. would enormously strengthen it and enable it to carry out its valuable work with greater understanding of the needs of the boys in the armed forces.

The labor movement, which has such a stake in this great war of national liberation, which has such a great percentage of its sons in the armed forces, which produces the weapons to be wielded in smashing Hitler, has also the obligation of participating together with all patriotic and civic forces in the nation in helping our country build and strengthen a mass, offensively equipped, politically educated, disciplined and democratic armed force of citizen soldiers and sailors closely tied to labor and the people, which will together with our Allies destroy the fascist monster and bring victory to the cause of the United Nations.

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THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

BY LOUIS F. BUDENZ

A RAPT audience of many millions, within the nation and throughout the world, listened with more than ordinary care to the address of President Roosevelt to the opening joint session of the 78th Congress.

The composition of the House and Senate before which the President spoke was not the best in many respects that the win-the-war camp could have wished for or secured. The defeatist obstructionists and their "business-as-usual" allies, under the leadership of Vandenberg, Taft and Wheeler, had made certain gains in both houses of the national legislature. There was much speculation, some fears and considerable discussion as to whether the President would conciliate these arrogant friends of defeat or would carry the fight against their camp by the enunciation of a well-defined offensive program.

Mr. Roosevelt made his reply, one whose tenor and purpose could not be subjected to any real misunderstanding, in his Presidential address and in the subsequent budget message four days later.

When the President delivered his "state of the nation" address to the 78th Congress, the state of the world in the war was pressing certain imperatives upon the people and government of the United States. Uppermost among these "musts" was (and is) the urgency for the expansion of the offensive by Great Britain and the United States, based on a united war strategy, which would establish the second front immediately upon the continent of Europe. When Mr. Roosevelt said, with strong feeling, to Congress that our objective is "to strike and strike hard" at the Axis in Europe, he thereby emphasized that basic strategy which the war's recent events command.

The very day that the nation's chief executive appeared before the Congressional joint session in Washington, the Red Army had advanced to within seventy-five miles of Rostov. The Soviet winter offensive has thus rolled forward (as subsequent battles have also demonstrated) with a momentum which calls for a powerful thrust from the west on land in Europe. But it will be remembered that one year before, on January 11, 1942, the Soviet government had announced the thrilling fact that 1,500,000 soldiers of the Nazi armies had been killed or captured in the first winter campaign

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up to that date. The opportunity which such figures represented for the United Nations was not then taken advantage of by Great Britain and the United States. In order today to turn this offensive into complete annihilation of the armies of all Hitlerite Germany, an offensive on land from the west in Europe remains a requirement of the first order.

* * *

The outstanding merit of President Roosevelt's address on January 7 is that it raised the banner of the offensive on all fronts—and reaffirmed the government's policy and intent to be the carrying through of the land attack on Europe. In tone it was a fighting war speech, such as the country wanted to hear from its Commander-in-Chief. "The Nazis and fascists have asked for it," was its dominant theme as well as a specific phrase which appears in its pages. The President was in tune with the fighting temper of the people when he saluted the strength, skill and courage of our American boys in North Africa, New Guinea and Guadalcanal. In the field of military operations, Mr. Roosevelt kept his report on the war in that "proportion" which he stated was his aim, by stressing the events on "the long fronts in Russia" as "by far the largest and most important development in the whole strategic picture of 1942."

First among these major achievements, the President put "the implacable defense of Stalingrad" and "second, the offensives by the Russian armies at various points which started in the latter part of November and which still roll on with great force and effectiveness."

Thus, on the canvas of the global war (including "the heroic Chinese people") the President penned the picture of the primary character of the Soviet fronts—and followed this up with the reiterated promise of an assault "by land" in Europe.

This correct emphasis on the carrying forward of the decisive offensive through the setting up of the second land front in Europe makes it incumbent for labor and the people again to take up this second front campaign, urging the Commander-in-Chief to move full steam ahead in its execution. Those who hope to delay the launching of this offensive (either because of outright defeatism or because of the timid hope that some one else will win the battles for us) will strive to get satisfaction out of the President's failure to discuss the time and urgency of the second front. They will seek to manipulate the President's words, "I cannot tell when," into an argument or excuse for slowing down the opening of that two-front war in Europe which can pulverize Hitler and the Axis. Labor can understand that the time for the second front is *now*, and can exert its full influence to help implement this understanding. It is *now* that the Soviet winter offensive presents the golden opportunity to carry the battle to the very heart of the Axis. It is now that the word of the new advances of the free peoples on the Soviet fronts has caused a new flame of revolt

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to rise in occupied countries. The North African offensive has also helped stoke the fires of the European underground, and the landing of British and American troops on European soil would fan those fires into a mighty anti-Axis conflagration.

The entire spirit of the President's message is an incentive to the launching of the second front now. The campaign to expand the assault in the west beyond the North African war onto the European continent immediately is a decisive matter of self-preservation to our nation, and especially to American labor.

Such an offensive as rings out of the President's words (and the urgency for which arises from the exigencies of the war) requires the welding of the solidarity of the United Nations and the advancement of a unified strategy for victory. In his message, the President repeatedly brings the benefits and value of the United Nations before the American people. "We pay tribute," said he, "to the fighting leaders of our Allies, Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek"; thereby reaffirming the bonds among the nations which, with the United States, form the keystone of the anti-Axis coalition. The President alluded to "the very real unanimity" which exists among these leaders, declared the United Nations to be "the mightiest military coalition in history," and emphasized the help to the world which will be represented by its remaining united at the conclusion of the war.

Such a reiteration of the power and value of the anti-Axis coalition was a sharp slap at the defeatists, who are preparing in this 78th Congress to make an essay at injuring the United Nations. As a shameful instance, there is that friend of the fifth column, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, who announced a few days before Congress opened that he was gunning for "lend-lease" to our Allies, using in this connection the slurring work "racket." There are those other Senators and Representatives who have begun to fill the hopper of Congress with motions for "investigations" designed to harass the Administration and our Allies and slow down the rapid development of the coalition and the offensive. These have run all the way from the threatened "investigation of peace plans," forecast by the *Chicago Tribune's* Man Friday, Jesse Sumners, over to the resolution offered by the defeatist Senator Gerald P. Nye for "an inquiry" into the nation's food production plans—aimed in part at hitting at lend-lease.

The President's underscoring of collaboration among the United Nations is most timely, as Wendell Willkie has likewise recently stressed that a strengthening of unified counsels around a unified strategy is painfully needed in the camp of the anti-Hitler allies. Such do not require necessarily the setting up of a formal council where the leaders of the United Nations would have to sit together in person. They do make urgent, however, the development of closer collaboration among Great Britain, the

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United States and the Soviet Union —and one of such constant consultation and unity of action as is equivalent to the working out of unified strategy in a united war council.

* * *

Just as delay in the opening of a second front has emboldened the defeatists to obstruct the whole war effort, so hesitancy about establishing a more unified strategy will only give new heart to their plots to turn the people against the Allies.

For the success of such an offensive as the President's message envisages, the rout of the defeatists is essential—not only in the beating back of defeatism's political spokesmen but also its directors among the monopolists. The Congress before which Mr. Roosevelt spoke is one in which the friends of Hitlerism have invested great hopes; occupying many of the strategic positions in its set-up are enemies of the war effort and of America. The "investigations" which are being launched by the mouthpieces of the *Chicago Tribune* and other like defeatists and the proposal to continue the un-American Dies Committee are the fruits of a systematic scheme designed to harass and hamper the war activities of this country and its Allies. They are looming as of the most serious concern to labor and the people.

The hope of these political friends of the Axis lies in a further working coalition of the *Chicago Tribune* gang within the Republican Party, led by men like Hoover and Taft, with the poll-tax school of reaction in the Democratic ranks. So strong is this defeatist influence within the Republican Party delegation in the lower House that the first statement of these gentlemen on the eve of the opening of Congress gave only such faint words of dedication to the war effort as are necessary to "pass muster" with the people. The main burden of their declaration was in favor of closer relations with the poll-taxers and in a continuance of those obstructionists tactics which had disgraced the last session of the 77th Congress. Among other things, the uneasy majorities by which many of these gentlemen went into office in the last elections, however, is evidence of the fact that unity of action by labor and the people can help influence the Administration to a bolder position against the obstructionist camp. The President's message made a beginning which labor and the people can make certain will be carried for ward with even greater vigor and consistency.

That the President's speech challenged and discomforted the defeatists was indicated by the reaction to his words in Washington. The defeatists were unable to make a frontal attack upon his message, knowing full well that its stand for the extension of the offensive, the strengthening of the bond among the United Nations, and the extension of the social security system received a warm response from the people. They were compelled to take refuge in reference to the alleged "vague" or "general" character of the President's remarks. Some even took on a synthetic

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good-fellow attitude of "we're all for the war." Their design in such subterfuges is obviously to avoid an open and direct fight on the main issue, where the people could see what is what, and to attack the war program of the government by sniping at specific items in the war proposals which come up for urgent consideration.

It is regrettable, under such circumstances, that the President did not indict these connivers at defeat and their "business-as-usual" allies and camp followers for the damage they have done and are doing to our nation's war effort. This he could have done, for instance, by reminding Congress and the people of what harm these obstructionists had wrought to the war effort by their undermining of his seven-point program for economic stabilization in the 77th Congress. The attainment of maximum production, the total mobilization of the country's manpower, and the strengthening of the national morale require, not only the establishment of a centralized war economy as proposed in the Pepper-Tolan-Kilgore Bill, but also the speediest realization of the President's original seven-point program covering democratic rationing and price control.

It was on April 27, 1942, that the seven-point program was first presented to Congress by the President; a month had not passed after that date before it was evident that the maneuver of the defeatists and the weakness of the Administration supporters had begun to scuttle it beyond repair. Four days after the President's 1943 "state of the nation" address, Earl Browder pointed out in Madison Square Garden that the seven-point program "has been applied *only* when it calls for sacrifices from the people, while it has been completely sabotaged in so far as it called for contributions from the upper classes."

Such chaos as has resulted has been made use of by the defeatists to create more chaos and distrust, and yet it is they who in the 77th Congress made such confusion a reality.

The same machinations which twisted the seven-point program into an instrument for the disadvantage of the masses are visible in the present Congress—against the Pepper-Tolan-Kilgore Bills opening the way for a centralized economy and in the schemes to mold the President's budget into a millstone around the neck of the people in the war effort.

* * *

On January 11 the President presented to Congress what he termed a "total war budget" to make possible the offensive to which he had so strongly referred in his preceding address. This budget will take $108,000,000,000 for the fiscal year starting with July to pay for carrying forward the war. It will also make essential (according to the President) at least a 25 per cent drop in civilian consumption, to about $500 per person per year. The country is prepared for such a total budget, for the country is ready and willing to carry the fight to the Axis with all the energy and re-

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sources that are at our command.

There is no lack of signs in the very first days of the present Congress, however, that powerful and reactionary influences in its midst will seek strenuously to put the overwhelming burden of this budget on the masses of the people. They will have to be combatted with much more success than was the case in the 77th Congress. It is incumbent on labor and the people to halt the rising cost of living, through pressing for effective price control, universal rationing and those wage adjustments which are made necessary in certain occupations and divisions of industry by the decline in real wages and the low level of pay in these particular lines of work. It is imperative, further, that the $16,000,000,000 which the President says will have to be raised through new taxes and savings is arranged on a justly proportionate basis in accordance with ability to pay, along the lines worked out by the Congress of Industrial Organizations in its recent national legislative conference.

This feature of the C.I.O. program which is of such vital importance in the tax fight reads as follows in full:

"The C.I.O. tax program seeks to assure all people that they will have sufficient money to permit them to buy the necessities of life and maintain themselves and their families on a basis that will guarantee maximum health and efficiency for production. Under an overall system of rationing, wage earners should have sufficient income to guarantee that they will be able to buy the goods available under their ration coupons and meet their obligations. Toward this end we recommend:

"(a) *Absolute opposition to any sales tax* which would be a blow against the war program in that it merely takes away money from those who can least afford to pay.

"(b) *Complete elimination of all war profiteers.* This can be done by increasing all corporate taxes, increasing taxes on middle and high income groups, and imposing an effective war profits tax.

"(c) *All unjust and special privileges should be eliminated.* This includes requiring married couples to submit joint returns, taxing present tax-exempt state and local securities, and increasing gift and estate taxes."

Victory for labor and the people in the field of taxation cannot be attained merely through the formulation of a program, but also in fighting it through. The tax battle cannot be looked upon as merely a contest over a fiscal policy but as a matter of national unity, which will be advanced by the carrying through of such a program as that brought forward by the C.I.O. In the campaign for the adoption of this victory taxation program, like the struggle for a centralized war economy, the initiative of the labor movement is therefore required to bring together every section of the population and the country that can be mustered in the fight.

Back of the renewal of lease-lend to our Allies, the weight of labor and its allies in national unity will likewise have to be brought with full force and effect. One of the tactics of the defeatists is to use the

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tax problem to try and arouse sentiment against lease-lend appropriations. They seek to create an utterly false picture of the percentage of our funds which goes into this essential purpose, and at the same time strive to hide the fact that the life of America is directly involved in getting through armaments, war material and food to our Allies.

The facts of the matter are that less than 15 per cent of our total production has been consumed or will be consumed by present plans, in sending arms to all of our Allies, whose battle against the Axis is helping so greatly to save America's national independence, to win victory for the United Nations. The food which has been sent abroad for these Allies represents an even smaller percentage by far of our food output, as is stated by President Roosevelt's report on lease-lend issued in December. Moved by the understanding of what this aid to Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China means to America's life and freedom, labor can bring up its big political battalions in every community throughout the nation to press for the passage of legislation continuing (and even expanding) lease-lend arrangements with our fighting colleagues in the anti-Axis coalition.

For success in pushing forward the offensive which is envisaged by the President's message and in safeguarding the methods by which the total war budget will be realized unity of labor, and the active collaboration of all win-the-war forces, is "of the essence." The recent Congressional elections have been vivid reminders of the need for such united action. The contest in the 78th Congress is every bit as critical in stressing this need. While the President's message, for example, gave indications of substantial progress in production during the past year, it is clear that much has still to be done to bring our "potential" production up to a par with what is actually being turned out. The positive measures which are required of this session of Congress to speed production—such as the key matter of centralization of economy initiated by the Pepper-Tolan Bills—will not meet with a unanimous endorsement in the Congress by any means. They will not be enacted into law, or established by executive action at all, unless labor, small business, farm groups and other patriotic forces present a strongly united front in Washington.

Unfortunately, the recent legislative conferences of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations were not held together, as might have been expected. Largely due to the continued influence of the Wolls and Hutchesons in its Executive Council, the A. F. of L. held its legislative planning session on January 5, while the C.I.O. met for a similar purpose three days later.

This lack of united planning and action on the eve of a Congress which may make a thrust at the very life of the unions is all the more surprising when an examination is made of the legislative programs which these conferences

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drew up. While that of the C.I.O. is much more comprehensive and effective in meeting the war needs of the nation and people, there is essential agreement between the two. There is certainly enough agreement on such vital matters as continuing Lend-Lease, preventing coercive labor legislation, solving the manpower problem, and overall rationing, abolishing the poll tax, securing wage stabilization, extending and strengthening the social security system, and other vital war measures for the two bodies to act in the closest concert. Both national labor federations are committed to an offensive in the war and to such taxation and other policies as will strengthen national unity. By working together in close cooperation they would not only add to their own political influence and strength. (The current Kaiser difficulties and the resultant dangers to the Wagner Act which are now arising furnish a definite case in point.) They would also, through such united action, strengthen the position of our Commander-in-Chief and would give more solidarity to the win-the-war camp as a whole, including the small farmers in particular.

The experiences with Labor's Victory Board present testimony that cooperation between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., as well as with the Railroad Brotherhoods, can be of the greatest benefit. Since January, 1942, when the Labor Victory Board came into being as an advisory body to the President, it has been a symbol of that unity which can be pressed forward and made to exist in a more substantial form.

The present state of affairs in the 78th Congress calls also for the maximum united action by the win-the-war forces in the House and Senate themselves. A further degree of cooperation between Willkie Republicans and Roosevelt Democrats would heighten the morale of the win-the-war camp. There have been some indications that such cooperation is being worked out in part at least, with such Republicans as Representatives Joseph Clark Baldwin of New York and George Bender of Ohio actively supporting most aspects of the Administration's war policies. But the very mention of these cases serves to pictorialize the fact that there is not enough of such working together at the present time.

In this situation, labor and the people expect and will support a more resolute fight by the Administration against the defeatists and for the setting up of those measures which are vital necessities for winning the war. They will back up strongly the carrying through of policies which the state of the nation and the state of the world require, including executive action whenever this proves essential. Labor and the people are in accord with the offensive spirit of the President's message and with the total war budget which he has submitted; they want to see the means for victory put through vigorously and with that commendable promptness which will spell success against the nation's Axis enemies.

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ANGLO-SOVIET TRADE UNION RELATIONS

BY PETER KERRIGAN

[*The Anglo-American Trade Union Committee, consisting of leaders of the A. F. of L. and a delegation of leading British trade unionists, will soon hold its first meeting in Miami, Florida. In the light of the pressing question of establishing the closest international ties of the trade unions of the Anglo-Soviet-American Alliance, the following article, by a leading British Communist, assumes special significance for American readers. —The Editors.*]

IT IS now a year since the announcement from Kuibyshev of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Agreement reached between the delegation from the British Trade Union Congress and the All-Union Council of Trade Unions last October. Here are the points of the agreement:

1. The joining together of the Trade Unions of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union for the organization of mutual assistance in the war against Hitlerite Germany.

2. Every possible support to the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and of Great Britain in their common war for the smashing defeat of Hitlerite Germany.

3. Strengthening of the industrial efforts of both countries with the aim of the maximum increase of the production of tanks, airplanes, guns, ammunition and other arms.

4. Assistance in rendering the utmost help in arms to the Soviet Union by Great Britain.

5. To make use of all means of agitation and propaganda — the Press, Broadcasting, Cinema, workers' meetings, etc.—in the fight against Hitlerism.

6. All possible support to the people of the countries under the occupation of Hitlerite Germany, which are fighting for deliverance from the Hitler oppression for their independence and re-establishment of their democratic liberties.

7. Organization of mutual assistance of the Trade Unions of Great Britain and the Soviet Trade Unions and mutual information.

8. Strengthening of personal contact between the representatives of the Trade Union movements of the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain through the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. and the British Trade Union Congress.

It is worth recalling certain facts in relation to the Agreement. Following the unanimous decision of the 1941 T.U.C. at Edinburgh, the Anglo-Soviet T.U. Committee was established. The visit of the British representatives, headed by Sir Walter Citrine, coincided with some of the grimmest days of last autumn. In fact, negotiations between the

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representatives of the Soviet and British Trade Unions were adjourned from Moscow to Kuibyshev because of the evacuation of all foreign representatives from the capital, under the menace of the German advance. The return of the British T.U. delegates was followed by the arrival on December 30, 1941, of the Soviet T.U. delegation, headed by N. M. Shvernik and Madame K. I. Nikolayeva, joint secretaries of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The tour of factories, mines and industrial areas made by the delegation had a tremendous effect in stimulating friendship between the workers of both countries and in helping forward the war effort. It is regretable, therefore, that from the British side more has not been done to make effective Clause 8 of the Agreement for "strengthening of personal contact between representatives of the Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. and of Great Britain."

Surely there could have been further visits from the T. U. representatives of Britain to the Soviet Union and vice versa. It is a year since the T.U.C. delegation went to Russia and ten months since our Soviet comrades visited us. Apart from the visit of Mr. Potts, President of the N.U.R., neither the General Council nor the British Unions have sent anyone to Russia.

That such interchanges are necessary can be seen by considering two questions: (1) Production and (2) International Trade Union Unity. The Soviet delegation played a great part in awakening the people of Britain to the need for more adequate use of our productive resources and to a realization of the part the workers could play in increasing output. This is what Shvernik said to pressmen just before the delegation departed:

"British industry possesses all that is requisite to increase the output of all forms of armaments. The delegation asserts that there are still in industry considerable unutilized reserves . . . these reserves are represented by the following: the insufficient utilization . . . of the equipment, machine tools, lathes, etc., on hand, the inadequate introduction of women into industry . . . an incorrect attitude in some factories to the initiative of working men and women . . . unwillingness to listen to the view of working men and women and their shop stewards, and even, in individual factories, in limiting the level of output. . . ."

Since then we have had the general establishment of Joint Production Committees in the arms industries and improvements in the production machinery in mining, building, etc. Nevertheless, as the recent speech of Mr. Lyttelton in the House shows, we are not yet utilizing fully our machine tools and labor power.

Under the evils of the sub-contracting system, people are making profits on contracts which they don't even have the plant to fulfill, but which they subcontract out to someone else. It is time we took to heart the observations of our Soviet comrades on these matters and demanded an end to such scan-

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dals in the fourth year of war.

It would have been invaluable if over the past year the Trade Union Journals had been publishing articles and reports descriptive of the production efforts of Soviet workers in the same industries. The *Transport Record, A.E.U. Monthly Journal, Municipal Worker, New Dawn, Railway Review, A.S.W. Journal,* and a host of other trade union journals would have been more widely read, more popular and more helpful in the production drive, if such material had appeared.

Aonther reason why there should be closer relations with the Soviet Trade Unions is the unfortunate situation that has arisen in respect to the efforts to bring the American Trade Unions into a joint body embracing the British, Soviet and American Trade Unions. The insulting and entirely false assertion by the American Federation of Labor leaders that "there are no legitimate Trade Unions in the Soviet Union" is not only scornfully repudiated by British Trade Unionists; it does not represent the opinion of the mass of American Trade Unionists, whether in the C.I.O., Railway Brotherhoods, or the American Federation of Labor itself.

Strong criticism was expressed during the T.U.C. proceedings at the British T.U.C. not pressing ahead for discussions with the C.I.O. and Railway Brotherhoods instead of allowing threats from the A. F. of L. to intimidate them. The viewpoint of British Trade Unionists on this matter has been stated very effectively in America by Jack Tanner, President of the A.E.U. Comrade Shvernik in his message to the T.U.C. on July 25th cabled the Soviet T.U.'s refusal to accept the Anglo-American T.U. Committee as the liaison between the Trade Unionists of America and their Soviet comrades. Surely this situation demands an early meeting of the representatives of both Trade Union movements.

There is one thing, however, for which a meeting ought not to be necessary. That is to discuss whether Point 4 of the Agreement is being effectively operated, *i.e.*, "Assistance in rendering the utmost help in arms to the Soviet Union by Great Britain." Joseph Stalin has made it clear that we are not fulfilling our obligations in this respect. Wendell Willkie, Admiral Standley and a host of others have voiced similar views. Now the largest Trade Union in Great Britain, the Transport and General Workers' Union, has declared it "Regrets the delay in opening a combined offensive against the Fascist forces," and calls "upon the British Government to proceed as soon as possible with the launching of the Allied offensive in Europe to which we stand pledged."

We will begin to fulfill the agreement in the letter and the spirit on the day we launch the Second Front. Let us in the Trade Union movement, therefore, demand that the General Council and our great Trade Unions made fully effective the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Agreement.

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN ON THE BEVERIDGE PROPOSALS

The Communist Party of Great Britain has appointed a Commission to examine the Beveridge Report on Social Insurance and prepare recommendations. Pending this fuller survey the Political Bureau has issued the following provisional statement on the report:

THE Beveridge report is a document of far-reaching public importance.

Its publication coincides with the present urgent turning point of the war, when the public mind is occupied, not only with the effort for victory, but with the problems of the world after the war.

The Beveridge report sets out the aim to achieve "social security" and the "abolition of want." This aim will receive the universal assent of all sections of the people. It corresponds to the deep desires of the soldiers, the workers in industry, the housewives, of all who fear want and insecurity after the war.

The proposals, if carried out, would be a big step forward. Whatever the criticism on points of detail, the broad lines of these proposals for the reform of social insurance and the social services will be universally welcomed.

At the same time it is necessary to distinguish sharply between the actual proposals of the Beveridge report for the unification and reform of social insurance, and the propaganda with which it is being presented and publicized as a kind of magic cureall for social and economic ills; the supposed solution of the problems of poverty and insecurity; "the British Revolution," etc. This propaganda is an attempt to mislead public opinion, and to utilize the Beveridge report as a barrier against the social changes which are necessary.

We need to warn against the illusion that the program of the Beveridge report can by itself achieve "social security" or the "abolition of want." Social insurance alone cannot solve the grave economic problems with which the British people will be faced after the war.

The program of the Beveridge report is based on one big assumption, which it admits itself. That assumption is the "avoidance of mass unemployment." The assumption behind the Beveridge report is that the existing economic system, whose functioning it does not question, that is, the system of decaying monopoly capitalism, can be planned and organized to function successfully, provide prosperity and stable employment, and afford resources for extended social services.

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If this assumption of a successful, organized, planned capitalism is unsound, then it is obvious that the practical working of the scheme will be gravely weakened. "Financial stringency," as the report declares, may "dictate benefits on a lower level." However valuable the Beveridge proposals for the reform of insurance, more radical measures will be necessary to achieve "social security" and the "abolition of want." This can only be successfully achieved by socialism, as the example of the Soviet Union has demonstrated.

The Beveridge report does not alter capitalism; it is not a reconstruction of Britain. It is a program for the unification and extension of social services and, as such, it should be supported and fought for. The fight to win these measures proposed in the Beveridge report will strengthen the forces of the people to go forward to the basic social and economic changes which will be necessary to attain real social security and the abolition of want.

The Communist Party will actively fight for the achievement of the main measures outlined in the Beveridge report, subject to amendment in detail. The Communist Party will put forward its proposals for improvement in certain respects—especially for immediate full-scale provision for the aged, without a Means Test; review of the scales of contribution and benefits with a view to reducing the burdens placed on the workers; equalizing the contributions of employers and workers, and increasing the contribution from the state.

The entire labor and democratic movement, and all sections of the people who desire to see carried through this important measure of social advance, should unite in the most active campaign to secure the speedy adoption of the main proposals of the Beveridge report. They should demand that the government immediately announce its decision to implement these proposals and introduce legislation along these lines, subject to amendment on points of detail. No opposition of reactionary vested interests should be allowed to stand in the way of such legislation.

The important issues of the Beveridge report and discussion of postwar reconstruction must not for one moment blind the eyes of the people to the primary task of exerting all our effort for speediest victory over fascism. There is no room for overconfidence or relaxation of effort. Only the strength and unity of the entire people can ensure victory over fascism today and thus afford the decisive guarantee of future social advance.

ADDENDUM: NOTES FOR SPEAKERS

THE Communist Party of Great Britain welcomes the Beveridge Report.

It sets out the aim to achieve "social security" and the "abolition of want." This aim will receive the universal assent of all sections of the people. It corresponds to the deep

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desires of the soldiers, the workers in industry, the housewives, of all who fear want and insecurity after the war.

The Government must be pressed to accept the Report and at once take steps to put it into operation. Powerful vested interests are opposed to it, and they can only be defeated by a vigorous campaign.

But while fully supporting the main lines of the Report, the Communist Party declares that it cannot give permanent security, which is impossible except in a Socialist Society.

1. What the Report is: a plan for the security of incomes up to a minimum level. No income of any family or individual is to be allowed to fall below a subsistence standard. This standard is worked out on 1938 needs and adjusted for an assumed rise in prices of 25 per cent by 1945. 1945.

Payments are to be made for all interruptions of income through illness, unemployment, accident, disability or old age; allowances are to be given for maternity, for children, for marriage and funeral expenses; free medical and health treatment is proposed in a national health service. All this to be administered by the State through a Ministry of Social Security.

2. What it is not: It is not a cure-all for social and economic ills, a "British Revolution." It cannot by itself achieve social security or the abolition of want. Deeper changes are needed in the social system to bring these about.

3. What it depends on: (a) International cooperation after the war in the fullest possible production and trade. (This is agreed by the United Nations in the Atlantic Charter and the 20 Years' Treaty with the Soviet Union.)

(b) Readjustments of British economic policy and structure required by changed conditions after the war so that productive employment will be maintained.

(c) The average rate of unemployment in industries already covered by social insurance will be not more than 10 per cent instead of 15 per cent assumed by the Unemployment Statutory Committee in its post-war anticipations.

(d) Decisions on the organization of post-war social insurance and services should be taken during the war.

4. When the plan operates: Contributions to start on June 1, 1944; to begin on January 1, 1945. Full benefits for old age to be reached after a 20 year transition period.

5. The changes it makes: (a) One weekly contribution on a single document entitles insured persons to all benefits.

(b) All citizens are covered, without upper income limit.

(c) The establishment of a Ministry of Social Security, to administer the scheme, and to take over Approved Societies (whether Trade Union, Friendly Society or Insurance Company), Public Assistance Committees, the Assistance Board, the Employment Service of the Ministry of Labor, the Care of Blind Persons, Workmen's Compensation arrangements.

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(d) Recognition of housewives as distinct insurance class. Man and wife are treated as a team. On marriage, a woman acquires a "housewife's policy," with rights to marriage grants, maternity, widowhood and separation provision and benefit during husband's unemployment or disability, if not herself "gainfully occupied." Gainfully occupied housewives will receive two-thirds of the normal rate for unemployment and disability benefit, but maternity benefit at 50 per cent above that rate.

(e) The Means Test is abolished in unemployment or health benefits, and after a 20-year transition period for pensions.

(f) Unemployment and disability benefit at full rate to be paid without time limit, subject to attendance at training center after a suggested six-months period and the imposition of certain behavior conditions. These are intended as safeguards against malingering and non-cooperation.

(g) Training benefit is introduced to help those losing former livelihood to change to new occupations.

(h) Pensions paid are conditional on retirement from work at minimum age of 65 for men, and 60 for women.

(i) Unconditional widows' pensions to be replaced by benefit for 13 weeks for all widows, a guardian benefit for widows with dependent children and a training benefit when required.

(j) Universal funeral grant.

(k) Industrial accident and disease to be provided for within the single social insurance scheme. Cost to be met partly by the general contributions, partly by special levy in industries scheduled as dangerous.

6. What you pay:

Proposed Rates

	Employee	Employer
Men		
21 & over	4 3	3 3
Between 18 & 21	3 6	2 9
Between 16 & 18	2 6	2 6
Women		
21 & over	3 6	2 6
Between 18 & 21	3 0	2 0
Between 16 & 18	2 0	2 0

Present Rates

Men		
21 & Over	1 10	1 10
Between 18 & 21	1 9	1 9
Between 16 & 18	1 5	1 5
Women		
21 & over	1 7	1 6
Between 18 & 21	1 6	1 5
Between 16 & 18	1 2½	1 1½

7. What you get:

On marriage: a lump sum up to £10.

On becoming a mother: a lump sum of £4, and 36s. a week for three months for those who had paid jobs or are widows.

For children: 8s. a week for every child except the first if the responsible parent is at work. If drawing benefit, 8s. a week for every child including the first.

On falling sick: free medical, dental, eyesight or hospital treatment.

On retirement (ages 65 for men,

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60 for women): a sum rising after 20 years to 24s. for a single person, 40s. for a man and wife. For every year you postpone retirement, you add 2s. a week to the joint pension, 1s. to the single pension.

On becoming a widow: 36s. a week for three months; if childless, is then expected to work, and can apply for training for which 24s. a week benefit is paid; if with children, 24s. a week plus 8s. a week for each child.

On becoming unemployed (because of lack of work, sickness, disability, or while training for a job): £2 weekly for man with wife not at work; 24s. weekly for man with wife at work; 16s. weekly for married woman worker; 24s. weekly for single man or woman over 21, 20s. aged 18-20, 15s. aged 16-17.

On becoming totally disabled: two-thirds of weekly earnings, but not more than £3 a week.

For dependents: 16s. weekly for dependent of a person drawing benefit.

For funeral expenses: a lump sum of £20 for adults; £15 aged 10-20, £10 aged 3-10, £6 under 3 years.

8. *An example:* Man, wife and two children: when the man is out of work, £2 16s. a week without time limit or Means Test, compared with £1 18s. for 26 weeks followed by assistance on the Means Test under the present arrangements. For such a family, disability benefit would also total £2 16s. a week without time limit or Means Test, compared with 18s. a week for 26 weeks followed by 7s. 6d. a week under the present Health Insurance. Workmen's compensation for total disablement would be £2 16s. a week for three months, followed by two-thirds earnings (with a maximum of £3) plus 8s. for each child, compared with a maximum of £1 15s. including children's allowances under present arrangements.

The Opposition

"Those who oppose it are, for the present, silent, or limit themselves to discreet enquiries whether our post-war trade will be such as to warrant social services on the scale contemplated . . . the passing of the Beveridge reforms will not be easy. It is safer to express approval than disapproval, and the opposition of vested interests will undoubtedly be felt." (*The Observer,* December 6.)

"Immediate effect of the Beveridge Report in the City was to wipe upwards of £5,000,000 off the value of insurance shares and unsettle other sections of the market." *(Daily Express,* December 3, 1942.)

"The forces of Money . . . hired a publicity man and gave him £10,000 to spend indicting the sloth of Whitehall and boosting the efficiency of Big Business. . . . Watch the 'letters'—you know, the ones that are paid for at a guinea a time if they get published attacking coordination and reminding us of the Good Old Days," warned Hannen Swaffer. (*World's Press News,* December 3, 1942.)

These quotations show the widespread character of the fight that will be put up by vested interests

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to prevent the Beveridge Proposals going through.

Character of the Opposition

(a) *The Insurance Companies:* Mr. Percy Rockcliffe, Secretary of the Joint Committee of Approved Societies and the National Union of Friendly Societies: "If this scheme comes to pass, truly might Ribbentrop allege that the Anglo-Saxon race was decadent." He accused Sir William Beveridge of being in close touch with the Left-wing politicians during the prepartion of his report. (*Daily Express,* December 3.)

Statement issued on behalf of Industrial Life Officers' Association, the Prudential Assurance Company Ltd., and the National Conference of Industrial Assurance Approved Societies attacked report as something imposing fresh burdens on the taxpayers. (*The Times,* December 3.) These Insurance Companies control several hundred millions of the people's money, and are a powerful influence in Big Business.

(b) *Sections of big business:* "No social insurance plan should provide security for the idler, waster, or spendthrift."—Sir Arnold B. Gridley, M.P. for Stockport. (*The Times,* December 8, 1942.)

Sir Arnold is director of a number of Electricity Supply undertakings, has financial interests in Borneo, Venezuela, Malay and Trinidad. He was one of the leading lights in the campaign against Fuel Rationing.

(c) *The Kemsley and Camrose Press: Sunday Times,* December 6, article by G. M. Young: "We may prepare to say farewell to our independence."

Sunday Graphic, December 6, Editorial: "Wisdom counsels against hasty acceptance or rejection of Sir William's plan as a whole or in part. We must build slowly to build lastingly."

Daily Telegraph, letters: Arthur Sutherland, December 7: "The nation has no bottomless well of gold. . . . I hope there will be no attempt to rush this scheme . . ." Sir Ernest Benn: "Sir William Beveridge thought it proper to drag . . . a red herring across the path of sanity."

Daily Sketch, article by Sir Ernest Benn, December 8: "It is a cruel deception. . . . Truth calls for . . . a reduction of the amount of State money in the pockets of the people . . . truth calls for a policy of deflation (he means cutting wages) rather than inflation (he means decent minimum standards for the people)."

Sir Ernest Benn is one of the apostles of private enterprise. He opposed the fuel rationing plan.

The significance of the campaign in the Kemsley-Camrose newspapers should be especially noted. This section of the press, before the war was most outstanding in its support for appeasement to fascism and against alliance with the Soviet Union. Its columns recently have contained many articles attempting to justify the Munich betrayal of Czechoslovakia and the whole policy of Munichism. It was opposed to the Second Front. It fought against fuel rationing.

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Support

Support for the plan, with various criticisms of detail, has come especially from the Labor movement, the trade unions, co-operatives, Labor Party, Communist Party. But many other sections also support it. The *News Chronicle,* representing Liberal thought, and the *Daily Herald* give their approval in very general terms, and call on the Government "to appoint forthwith the new Minister" of Social Security, as the initial step indicating Governmental acceptance. (December 9.)

The People Must Act

The Communist Party will actively fight for the achievement of the main measures outlined in the Report. Proposals for amendment will be put forward especially to provide full-scale benefit for the aged, without a Means Test or transition period; for reduction of contributions to be made by workers, equalizing contributions from workers and employers, and increasing amount contributed by State.

The entire labor and democratic movement must unite to campaign for the adoption of the report. The Government should be pressed to announce its decision to introduce legislation along the lines suggested without delay. No opposition from vested interests should be allowed to stand in the way.

The important issues of the Beveridge Report and discussion of post-war reconstruction must not be allowed to take our minds from the stern battles of today. Without destroying the Nazis in the present struggle, there can be no future to reconstruct. The strength and unity of the entire people can ensure victory over fascism and its friends, and thus pave the way for great social advances in the future.

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MANIFESTO TO THE GERMAN PEOPLE AND THE GERMAN ARMY

[*The "German People's Broadcasting Station," which functions illegally in Germany, recently broadcast the text of a "Peace Manifesto," adopted by the National Peace Movement Conference held in Western Germany, apparently early in December:*]

GRAVELY alarmed for the fate of our people, we Germans from the Western regions of Germany, fully aware of our responsibility, have united, regardless of religious and political convictions. Overcoming many obstacles and defying all dangers we assembled at a secret conference. After a thorough exchange of opinions we arrived at the unanimous decision to issue the following manifesto to our people:

Men and women of Germany! Officers and soldiers! Every day our people realize with greater clarity that the government is hiding the truth from them. The people were told a deliberate lie that the war is allegedly being conducted in defense of our vital interests. Subsequently the German ministers openly admitted that it is a war of conquest.

From the very beginning the people were deceived and told that the war would be short-lived, that victory had allegedly already been won. But the war has been in progress now for more than three years; yet peace seems further away than ever before.

We are being deliberately deceived as to the extent of our losses. But there is mourning in every German family and the number of sacrifices grows with every passing day. We have been deceived as regards the results of submarine warfare. This is testified to by the landing of big American and British armies in North Africa. We are being deliberately deceived as regards the situation on the Eastern Front and Russia's strength of resistance. This is testified to by the strong Russian offensive.

The fact that whole German armies are being flung far back, encircled and ground down, is being concealed from us, and they are trying to hide from us the fact that the German economy and the food question are in a state of terrible degradation.

Our people demand the truth. The fate of our nation is at stake and it is our duty to learn from the experience of the war and to propagate its lessons. The protraction of the war gave England, America and Russia time for the full development of their economic might, whereas after almost three

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and a half years of war Germany is nearing exhaustion.

The lack of labor power and raw materials, the transport difficulties and the rapid wear and tear of machinery have led to an ever greater drop in industrial production. The lack of labor power in the countryside, the shortage of fodder and fertilizer and poor cultivation are leading to crop failure. Our cattle herd is sharply declining. The food supply base of our people is being ruined.

Extreme strain over a number of years and malnutrition of the workers are undermining the most prized possession of the people—labor power. Labor productivity is declining and the health of the people is greatly imperiled.

The armed forces of the empire are scattered far apart and dispersed. The army is suffering from a shortage of men, tanks and planes for serving the far-flung front. The German army no longer has superiority in armaments. It no longer dominates the air.

Our cities and industrial regions are not protected against heavy air raids. Lack of gasoline restricts the possibilities of using equipment and curbs the maneuverability of troops on the front. The enemy's armies have already attained numerical superiority. They are better armed and better equipped.

Lack of skilled officers and well-trained soldiers tells more and more on the German army. The big offensive operations at Stalingrad and in the Caucasus failed; yet they were continued merely because of considerations of prestige, as a result of which the army has been greatly weakened.

The position of the Axis in Europe is growing steadily weaker. It may be considered that the attempt, by means of occupation and forcible methods, to compel the peoples of Europe to submit to German rule has failed. Methods of violence have evoked profound hatred among all peoples.

Yugoslavia remains an arena of military operations. The Dutch and Belgians, Norwegians and Greeks are openly resisting the Hitlerite "New Order in Europe." And now, by occupying the whole of France, Hitler has again aroused the whole French people and evoked their profound indignation and open resistance.

Even in the countries of Germany's allies, particularly in Italy, there is a growing desire to break away from the Axis and conclude a separate peace. Unlimited claims to power and an unrestrained military policy have led to the fatal isolation of Germany. The events in North Africa have shown that a second front will be opened and will coincide with popular uprisings in the occupied countries.

To continue the war is to convert Germany into a theater of military operations, into an arena of war. And although more and more voices are raised warning the army, economic circles and the people, Hitler's adventurist government is unswervingly steering its course toward a dangerous reef. Frightening us with the bogey of a "terrible peace of a new Versailles" and threateningly raising the question

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of "victory or death," the Hitler government is trying to force our people to go on with the war.

To prolong his rule and that of his party, Hitler is gambling with the life of Germany. The longer the war lasts, the weaker and more defenseless will Germany become. The longer the war lasts, the more sacrifices it will demand, the greater number of wounds will be inflicted upon us and all mankind. The longer the war lasts, the longer the claims to foreign territory persist, the heavier will be the weight of responsibility resting upon our pepole.

The longer the war lasts, with the numerous crimes of the S.S. and the Gestapo in the occupied countries, and the atrocities against defenseless war prisoners, the more bitter and the greater will be the hatred of the peoples for our people. The longer our officers and soldiers continue to fight for Hitler's lost cause, the greater their persistence, the harder will be the terms of peace which we will eventually have to conclude.

Our people in the rear, the officers and soldiers on the front must understand that the continuation of the war is not the way out, not our salvation, but a false path, the way to death!

In the name of our people we accuse the present government of leading our state to a second Versailles and to disaster!

What is the way out? The way for our people to reach a just peace?

Standing between our people and a just peace are the treaties violated by the present government and its boundless territorial claims and conquests, its policy of violence and crimes against other peoples. But the way to a just peace is open for our people if they themselves put an end to the war, to the Hitler system and the policy of violence!

The question arises whether there are adequate forces among our people to do away with the Hitler party and regime. Yes, there are such forces! They are scattered as yet. They must be united into a big national German peace movement! There are forces among the parties and organizations suppressed by Hitler, as well as among the troops and in the opposition within the National-Socialist camp. There are forces among the workers, intellectuals and peasants, as well as among the middle classes and the bourgeoisie.

We have in mind the supporters of the old big parties of the Center, the German National People's Party, the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party, the members of the former Christian or free Trade Unions, the members of the former cooperative and sports movements, the old members of the S.A., and even those who are formally affiliated to the Nazi organization. A single will for peace, justice and freedom must unite us all in struggle!

All who are against the war and against Hitler must join the ranks of this great national peace movement! Cast away all hesitation and fear! Put an end to indifferent silence and hesitant waiting!

With growing persistence the people are demanding peace. Forces

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everywhere are coming into motion. Is there not a strong national and democratic anti-Hitler, anti-war opposition among the people, in economic circles and within the army leadership? Has not Hitler removed many generals? Is there not opposition even in the organizations of the National-Socialist Party?

This opposition is growing, for all honest Germans who have been following Hitler are now deeply disappointed. They see that instead of an honest administration, here is the worst kind of mismanagement and favoritism; instead of public welfare, there are the pursuit of selfish ends and the unscrupulous enrichment of the Nazi Fuehrers; instead of the salvation of the peasantry, there are an exodus from the village and the ruin of agriculture; instead of promised favorable conditions for handicraft workers, there is loss of independence for the small handicraftsman; instead of the former 6,000,000 unemployed we have today over 6,000,000 killed and crippled and millions of widows and orphans.

Our people have not only the strength for action to bring about their salvation; there are also people capable of guiding the destiny of the state. There are such people in the army, among the officers and soldiers, among the workers and peasants, in the universities and among the clergy. Such people are now heading the underground people's movement. Such people have been thrown by Hitler into prisons and concentration camps. Such people are the famous German scientists, statesmen and executives who have been deprived by Hitler of the rights of citizenship and driven from our country.

The nation has men, able leaders. Healthy forces are being accumulated in the ranks of the people. Let us unite in a national peace movement. Let us unite the people and those who are their finest representatives. We propose that our joint struggle for our common aim be guided by the following ten-point program:

1. The immediate end of military operations. The recall of the German army to Germany and the renunciation of conquests of foreign territory.

2. The overthrow of the Hitler government and the formation of a national democratic peace government.

3. The arrest and punishment of those responsible for the war and the confiscation of their property. The disbandment of the S.S. and the Gestapo.

4. The liberation of the arrested and convicted clergymen, deputies, party and trade union leaders and of those imprisoned by the Hitler government for political activities. The abolition of concentration camps and humiliating racial laws.

5. Freedom of speech, press, assembly, religion and opinion. The free performance of religious ceremonies. The freedom of political, economic and cultural organizations.

6. The abolition of all the economic laws enforced by the Hitler government to the detriment of the people. The restoration of the free-

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dom of peasant households and handicrafts and the freedom of trade. The security and freedom of development for small and medium enterprises in agriculture, trade and industry. The just distribution of the taxation burden. Aid to enterprises producing consumers' goods and foreign trade. The constitutional protection of legally acquired private property.

7. Work, fair wages, an eight-hour working day and the right to rest for all workers and office employees. The restoration of civil rights to civil servants. Aid to the youth to facilitate their education and development.

8. Adequate state relief and ample relief to the victims of the war and the relatives of the men killed in the war, at the expense of confiscating the property of those responsible for the war and of all profiteers and robbers.

9. A foreign policy of international collaboration with peoples and states. The recognition of the right of all peoples to independence and their own statehood.

10. The convening, on the basis of equal and direct suffrage with secret ballot, of a new constituent national assembly to work out a democratic constitution and to establish constitutional and material guarantees of rights, of law and order.

German men and women! Officers and soldiers! The national peace movement is striving to build a new Germany, a truly democratic state, a state of peace and freedom. The new democratic Germany will not be a weak, defenseless state; it will be a strong state, backed by the unity and freedom of the people. We do not want to look back into the past, but into a better future for Germany. Provided the people have the will, they will find the means for its realization.

Let us rise in the struggle for the worthy aim of peace and freedom! Let every section of the people fight with all the means which their respective abilities and stations place at their disposal.

Executives can create difficulties in distributing the promissory notes of the Hitler government; they can sabotage the laws on labor conscription and the distribution of raw materials. The peasants can sabotage the laws on forcible sowing and deliveries of agricultural produce. Workers are able to employ extremely effective means of struggle, as on their labor depends the work of the war industry, coal output and military transport.

Intellectuals and clergymen have the possibility of supporting the demands and aims of the national peace movement by courageously voicing their opinions in the universities, schools and churches, thus helping to spread the truth.

In the queues before the stores, in front of the city halls and military offices, the women can express their will for peace and their just demands for improved food supplies. The whole people can delay or refuse payment of all sorts of taxes, levies and deductions.

It is the sacred duty of the officers and soldiers in the army, as the

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armor bearers of the nation, to develop among the troops an irresistible movement for the immediate cessation of hostilities and for their return home. To restore honor and dignity to the soldiers it is necessary to disarm the Gestapo and the S.S. and to arrest the base Hitler elements among the troops. All honest officers and soldiers who are imbued by a truly national spirit must together with the people establish law and order in Germany.

All out in the struggles of the people against the war! This is the slogan of the day! Germans of all sections of society, all religions and parties! Unite for the common cause, for the common aim—for the salvation of our state, for peace and for the welfare of the people and the country!

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AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF ITALY

CITIZENS: That which has long since been foreseen is coming to pass. The policy of the Mussolini Government has brought about a situation in the country which is the prelude to and the forerunner of catastrophe. Two years of war have been two years of defeat, calamity, and misfortune for us. Today, however, even greater misfortune threatens us.

War is now knocking at our very door, is being transferred to our territory. We are faced with the question of life or death. If we don't dithdraw from the war as soon as possible this will spell the end of our remaining economic resources, the destruction of our industry and our cities, the ruin and seizure of the country and finally defeat and castastrophe.

At a time when all war plans of the Fascist Government have miserably collapsed, it is trying desperately to maneuver. The Government is responsible for all our defeats—a government which has sown discord in the country, which has ruined us and turned us into vassals of foreigners, now calls for unity and resistance and speaks of the salvation of Italy. We must indignantly reject this maneuver, must refuse Mussolini and his Government the right to speak in the name of Italy and expose them to the people as those responsible for our ruin.

The policy of the Fascist Government is not dictated by the interests of the country but by the interests of fascism and a foreign power—Germany. Mussolini has hurled us into war, not out of consideration of national defense, but because of his unrealistic, mad predatory plans. He squandered our riches and compromised the honor of the country in his unsuccessful attempts at invasion. In sustaining defeat he turned our native land, our armed forces, industry, agriculture, the whole of our economy, into a weapon of German militarism.

Today, when Hitler is everywhere threatened by superior forces of the international coalition, all he can do is to desperately defend himself. Today, when our country is on the brink of catastrophe, Mussolini and the Fascist Government want to convert Italy into a fortress of German defense. This means the ruin and utter destruction of our factories, cities, communications, and army. We reject this pernicious plan in horror.

The war aims of Germany, which wants to subordinate and colonize

* This manifesto, broadcast in December by the secret Italian radio "Milano Libertad," was adopted at an underground conference in Milan, attended by members of Liberal, Catholic, Democrat, Republican, Socialist and Communist groups, as well as certain members of the fascist opposition.

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all the peoples of Europe, run counter to our interests. The people never approved of the military alliance with Hitler. Catholic and liberal circles always renounced it. Mussolini has violent opponents in the ranks of the ruling party itself.

The war of Hitler and Mussolini is not our war, is not the war of the Italian people. It is treachery and a crime to reduce Italy to ruin for the sake of extending the numbered days of the Hitlerite regime, a crime against which our conscience as Italians revolts.

The countries of the democratic coalition, confident of future victory, do not pursue aims that are detrimental to the interests of our future and our honor. They make no claims on our territory. They want to smash the power of German imperialism and restore to the peoples of Europe their national freedom. This fully corresponds to our interests. It is not only necessary but also possible to withdraw from the war, to put an end to the senseless destruction of our soldiers and the ruin of our country, to conclude peace and thus avoid the catastrophe that looms over us.

The Mussolini Government is the sole obstacle in the way. Italy must be freed of this government of tyranny. To achieve this object upon which depends the salvation of the country we must today reach agreement, and all Italians must fight unitedly. We must overlook all former differences between us. We must remove everything that divides us and remember one thing: that the Motherland is in danger and that she can be saved by wresting her from the furnace of war. Those who today realize that we were deceived and ruined by the Fascist hierarchists and Mussolini must find their place in the ranks of the popular and national forces who wish to save Italy from catastrophe.

Let us rise to a man, from the Alps to Sicily, against a government which is nothing other than a gang of parasites, incompetent henchmen of a foreign power, against a government that betrays the interests of the country.

Italy needs a government that will bring us peace, that will satisfy the demands of the people and save us from doom. We must rid ourselves of the government of war, of fascist adventurists. We must fight for a government of peace.

Citizens! We address you with a proposal to form a big national organization of action and struggle, an organization which, despite all differences in ideology, political convictions and religious beliefs, would unite all who are prepared for decisive action in order to save Italy from catastrophe, to put an end to the war, the subordination to Germany and the government of the tyrant Mussolini.

We propose to you to set up an Italian National Front composed of all true national forces which would be based on a wide network of committees of action to end the war, for peace and freedom.

The proposed program was drawn up jointly by representatives of all political trends and contains the following three main points: 1, to put an end to war and to conclude

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peace; 2, to take urgent and necessary measures to cut short the economic ruin of the country, to prevent poverty, high prices and starvation; 3, to restore to all citizens the right to take part in public life, so that the people themselves can take the fate of the country into their own hands and save it from the abyss into which it is being rushed.

To achieve this we propose the following as an immediate program of the national front:

1. To immediately break the pact tying us to Hitlerite Germany, which is pushing us into the abyss, to drive all German troops and German agents out of Italy and her colonies. Down with foreigners! Italy must belong to the Italians!

2. The immediate cessation of war hostilities and the recall of Italian troops from the Eastern front and from the Balkans. Not another war winter! All soldiers must return home! Stop being cannon fodder for the Germans!

3. Immediate conclusion of an armistice in Africa to start peace negotiations with the democratic powers on the basis of respect for and guarantee of our territory and independence. Peace will save us from death. Peace will save us from the German yoke. Peace will give us bread and freedom.

4. To cease sending provisions to Hitlerite Germany and to secure the return of our workers from the Reich.

5. Overthrow the regime of requisitions, abolish war taxes. Establish free trade for the peasants. All the products of our land must be used to save our people from poverty and hunger. All our resources must be used to restore the country's economy. All Italian workers must receive bread and work in Italy. All property of Germans and their agents must be confiscated, as well as the super-war-profits and riches accumulated criminally by the fascist hierarchy. Down with corruption and parasitism! Down with foreigners who are sapping the country's resources!

6. Restoration of constitutional guarantees, freedom of speech, press and assembly and religious beliefs.

7. Abolition of shameful racial legislation. Liberation of all citizens persecuted for their political convictions and because they fought against fascist tyranny, against war and subordination to Germany. Disbandment of the Fascist militia, the praetorian guard of a regime, the people of which led us to catastrophe. Purge of the army and state institutions of the gang which serves the foreigners. Arrest and trial of those responsible for military defeat, for economic ruin and corruption. Creation of conditions which would enable the Italian people to take the fate of their country into their own hands, to revive Italy, a free and great Italy respected by the whole world, such as was envisioned by the founders of our Renaissance.

We call upon all Italians, regardless of their social origin, to accept this program, popularize it among the masses, organize and fight for its realization.

Citizens! We are striving only for the peace and salvation of our

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country. But we shall have neither peace nor salvation from ruin and death if we remain passive in the face of events. To remain a passive onlooker at a time when the country is propelled toward doom is an unforgivable crime.

The National Front must be a front of struggle. We call to battle all Italians and remind them that the fate and future of Italy are in their hands. Officers, soldiers, sailors! In view of the fact that Fascism demands that we sacrifice our lives, not for the good and grandeur of the country, but in the interests of another country, for Hitler Germany, in the interests of a government of parasites and flunkeys of foreigners, you are justified in deserting. Refuse to obey the Fascist Government and Command, demand immediate return to the homeland, refuse to leave for the front, unite with the people and with arms in hand fight for peace and freedom, against subordination to Germany.

Workers! Fight in your factories for bread, for higher wages. Refuse to work for the war! Refuse to work for the Germans! Sabotage war production. Desert the factories where death awaits you! Raise the banner of freedom and peace in the factories and the streets!

Peasants! Resist the fascist requisitions with all means. Refuse to pay war taxes!

Workers of all categories, Office Workers! Spare no effort to sabotage all war measures of the Fascist Government!

Young People! The young generation must set an example to all in the struggle for the restoration of the freedom, honor and grandeur of the nation! Be worthy of your great ancestors Garibaldi and Mazzini who wanted to see Italy the freest, most civilized and just country in the world!

Women! If you want to save the lives of those near and dear to you, fight in the front ranks against the war, for bread and peace!

Citizens! Time does not wait. The situation is growing acute. Raise your voices against war and for freedom. Prepare for a unanimous uprising against the government, which is leading us to defeat.

Long live unity of all forces of the nation, of the people, for the salvation of Italy! Down with the Fascist Government! Long live liberty! Long live peace!

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BOOK REVIEW

ANNA ROCHESTER'S new book, "Lenin on the Agrarian Question," * shows why on the Soviet countryside it was possible for the socialist state of workers and peasants, the most advanced social system, to challenge—for the first time and in behalf of all progressive mankind—the invincibility of Hitler's armies. Miss Rochester's study covers the history of agriculture in tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union over a period of eighty years; the socialist emancipation of the peasantry; and the leadership of Lenin in that struggle for freedom.

A few brief days after Hitler hurled his marauding armies against the Soviet Union Stalin called on the Soviet peoples and the Red Army to resist and destroy the invaders, to lay waste the land in the event of forced retreat, and to establish a guerrilla front behind the fascist lines.

In his speech of July 3, 1941, Stalin said that if the Red Army were compelled to retreat

"The collective farmers must drive off all their cattle, and turn over their grain to the safekeeping of state authorities for transportation to the rear. All valuable property, including non-ferrous metals, grain and fuel which cannot be withdrawn, must be destroyed without fail.

"In areas occupied by the enemy, guerrilla units, mounted and on foot, must be formed, diversionist groups must be organized to combat the enemy troops, to foment guerrilla warfare everywhere, to blow up bridges and roads, damage telephone and telegraph lines, set fire to forests, stores, transports.

"In the occupied regions conditions must be made unbearable for the enemy and all his accomplices. They must be hounded and annihilated at every step, and all their measures frustrated."*

From the ranks of the collective farmers have come millions of fighters for the Red Army and for the guerrilla detachments. Food and machinery which could not be evacuated or turned over to the guerrillas was ruthlessly destroyed. This was done and is being done in a country which up into the second decade of the present century was oppressed by feudal capitalist landlordship.

Soviet power, socialist industry and agriculture, the most advanced social system, made possible the uniting of many peoples for self-sacrificing struggle against the most retrogressive social system—Hitler fascism.

What Soviet power and the Len-

* Anna Rochester, *Lenin on the Agrarian Question*. International Publishers, New York, 1942, 224 pp., $1.75.

* Joseph Stalin, *Victory Will Be Ours!*, Workers Library Publishers, pp. 13-14.

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inist-Stalinist policy have meant for the Soviet peasants is stated explicitly in the fundamental law, the Stalin Constitution of 1936, as follows:

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of workers and peasants. . . .

"The socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production firmly established as a result of the abolition of the capitalist system of economy, the abrogation of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, constitute the economic foundation of the U.S.S.R. . . .

"Socialist property in the U.S.S.R. exists either in the form of state property (the possession of the whole people), or in the form of cooperative and collective-farm property (property of a collective farm or property of a cooperative association). . . .

"Public enterprises in collective farms and cooperative organizations . . . as well as their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of the collective farms and cooperative organizations. . . .

"The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them for their use free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity."

The Constitution, said Stalin in 1936 at its drafting,

". . . sums up the path already traversed, sums up the gains already achieved. Consequently it is the record and legislative enactment of what has been achieved and won in fact."*

From this foundation the Soviet workers and peasants have carried on the historic struggle against Hitlerism in behalf of all mankind, the cause of the United Nations.

In agriculture, as Anna Rochester points out, under Lenin's and Stalin's guidance and leadership,

". . . the Soviet countryside has risen in less than a generation from the depths of ignorance and poverty, in which little islands of 'progress' were supported by the crudest and most brutal exploitation, to the highest peak of agricultural development yet attained by any section of the human race."**

The war of Hitler fascism is a desperate effort to drive history back over the long, hard road conquered by the people in struggle against feudalism. The patriotic war being waged by the collective farm peasantry and the entire Soviet people is a struggle against the deadliest menace to human progress.

In the development of capitalism in agriculture Lenin pointed out, as Miss Rochester shows, there were two possible courses of development.

"These two paths of objectively possible bourgeois development may be described as the Prussian path and the American path, respectively," said Lenin. "In the first case, feudal landlordism gradually evolves into bourgeois, *Junker* landlordism, which dooms the peasants

* Joseph Stalin, *On the New Soviet Constitution*, International Publishers, p. 12.
** *Lenin on the Agrarian Question*, p. 169.

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to decades of most painful expropriation and bondage, while at the same time a small minority of *Grossbauern* (big peasants) arises. In the second case there is no landlordism, or else it is broken up by the revolution, as a result of which the feudal estates are confiscated and divided into small farms. In this case the peasant predominates, becomes the exclusive agent of agriculture and evolves into the capitalist farmer. In the first case the outstanding content of the evolution is the transformation of serfdom into usury and capitalist exploitation on the land of the feudal lords—the landlords—the *Junkers*. In the second case the main background is the transformation of the patriarchal peasant into a bourgeois farmer."*

Lenin, leading the struggle against feudal landlordism under tsarism, made it quite plain wherein lay the interests of the peasants and of the industrial working class.

". . . in order to facilitate the development of the productive forces (the highest criterion of social progress) we must give our support not to bourgeois evolution of the landlord type, but to bourgeois evolution of the peasant type. The former implies the utmost preservation of bondage and serfdom (remodeled in a bourgeois fashion), the least rapid development of the productive forces and the retarded development of capitalism; it implies infinitely greater misery and suffering, exploitation and oppression for the large masses of the peasantry and, consequently, also for the proletariat. The second type implies the most rapid development of the productive forces and the best conditions of existence for the mass of the peasantry possible under the commodity system of production."*

Lenin spoke in terms of human progress. His words assume a new significance today when Hitlerite armies are trying to drive mankind along the road of social decay and retrogression.

In her recent pamphlet, *Farmers in Nazi Germany*,* Anna Rochester describes the agricultural structure that the Hitlerites have striven to impose in Germany, an imperialist-feudal structure of a Nazi-Prussian type.

Each day that passes provides more details of the barbarous content that Nazism is providing for its arch-Prussian New Order for agriculture. Feudal-type landowners are installed on conquered lands, Soviet citizens are condemned to drudgery and death on the farms of the new-found barons or in Germany itself. Civilians and soldiers are seized as slaves both for Nazi agriculture and industry.

"The German fascists, who have introduced slave labor in the factories and mills and resurrected serfdom in the German villages and in the vanquished countries," said Stalin, in his Order of the Day on May 1, 1942, ". . . are reactionary feudal barons and the German army is an army dominated by feudal barons and shedding its blood to enrich the German barons and re-establish the rule of landlords."

Lenin's evaluation of the develop-

* *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

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ments in Russian agriculture from the period of the 1861 "emancipation" and the practical conclusions drawn by Lenin, Stalin, and the Bolshevik Party from these developments are based, as Miss Rochester shows explicitly, on a consistent Marxist analysis. This principled perspective expressed itself in an understanding of: the elemental revolutionizing force of capitalist development in Russian agriculture; the class conflicts engendered under feudalism and capitalism; the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle against tsarism and in the struggle for socialism; and the relation of the propetariat to other sections of the population.

Anna Rochester's book describes the evolution of this Marxist-Leninist analysis of the agrarian question in terms of the historical circumstances in which it developed and in terms of the ideological struggles which accompanied it.

The question of program, as Lenin described it was this:

"By an agrarian programme we mean," he said, "the laying down of the guiding principles for a Social-Democratic policy in the agrarian question, *i.e.*, in relation to agriculture and the various classes, strata, and groups of the rural population."*

Anna Rochester points to three important corollaries for a correct proletarian policy. They are as they appear in Lenin's work:

1. Understanding the goals of the various sections of the peasantry.

2. Centering attention on the historically most progressive features of their demands and refusing to accept and absorb all peasant demands in a proletarian agrarian program.

3. Making it possible for the decisive sections of the peasantry to learn from their own experiences which demands were correct and which incorrect, which vital and which not, which worth concentrating on and which not.

Prior to the 1906 "Unity Congress" of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Lenin, for example, analyzed the different viewpoints set forth by the Social-Democrats during 1905 on the question of confiscation of landlord estates.

"A few members opposed confiscation," Miss Rochester points out. "They argued that breaking up of large estates would be a reactionary measure. They wanted to retain the old demand for return to the peasants of the *otrezki* [cut-off lands]. But Lenin took the position:

"We must take cognizance of the general and ultimate result of the contemporary peasant movement, and not dissolve it piece by piece. In general and on the whole the present landlord economy in Russia rests more on serf bondage than on a capitalist system of economy. . . . Our mistake in setting forth the demand for return of the *otrezki* consisted in underestimation of the breadth and depth of the democratic, really bourgeois-democratic movement among the peasantry. It is stupid to persist in this mistake now when the revolution has taught us much. For the development of capitalism confiscation of all landlords' land will give an incom-

* *Ibid.*, p. 23.

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parably greater plus than the minus which would come from breaking up of large capitalist agriculture. The breaking up will not destroy capitalism and will not hold it back but will, to a tremendous degree, cleanse, make general, expand, and strengthen the basis for its (capitalism's) new development. We have always said that to limit the sweep of the peasant movement is in no sense the business of the Social-Democrats, and at the present time refusal of the demand for confiscation of all landlords' land would be a clear limiting of the sweep of a crystallized social movement."*

Lenin proposed revising the demand for the return of the *otrezki* because the peasants' demand for confiscation of the landlord estates represented the underlying anti-feudal, bourgeois-democratic, historically progressive movement.

Lenin constantly referred to the main stream of social progress as the criterion for the agrarian program of the proletariat.

"...Lenin emphasized that the demands of the Social-Democrats could not be simply a hodge-podge of everything the peasants desired," as Miss Rochester points out. "Their grievances must be analyzed with Marxist understanding of social development toward the ultimate goal of socialism. So the programme [adopted at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in 1903] stated that the special peasant demands were introduced 'with the object of removing the survivals of serfdom, the burden of which lies heavily on the peasants, and in the interests of the free development of the class struggle in the countryside."*

Anna Rochester outlines excellently the development of Russian agriculture, covering the period from the 1861 "emancipation" to the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. She describes the development of capitalism cracking the feudal terrain of Russian agriculture; tsarist agrarian policy before the 1917 revolution; the significance of the February and October revolutions; the period of war communism; the N.E.P.; the collectivization and industrialization of agriculture; the elimination of the kulaks as a class; and the evolvement of collective socialist agriculture.

She shows in each period the tenacious struggle carried on by the Leninists for the main historical line of social development.

From the very outset of the revolution Lenin emphasized the necessity for bringing about the reorganization of society by convincing the peasants themselves.

On the question of collectivization Lenin pointed out that:

"When we say, 'Encourage association,' we are giving instructions which must be tested many times before the final form in which to put them into effect is found. When it is stated that we must strive to gain their voluntary consent, it means that the peasants must be convinced, and convinced in practice. They will not allow themselves to be convinced by mere words, and they are perfectly right. It would be a bad thing if they

* *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

* *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

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allowed themselves to be convinced merely by decrees and agitational leaflets. If it were possible to reshape economic life in this way, such reshaping would not be worth a brass farthing. It must first be demonstrated that such association is better, people must be united in such a way that they are actually united and are not at odds with each other—it must be proved that association is advantageous. That is the way the peasant puts the question and that is the way our decrees put it. If we have not been able to achieve that so far, there is nothing to be ashamed of and we must admit it frankly."*

In the period 1930-1934, as the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* points out,

". . . the Bolshevik Party solved what was, after the winning of power, the most difficult historical problem of the proletarian revolution, namely, to get the millions of small peasant owners to adopt the path of collective farming, the path of Socialism."

This was accomplished under Stalin's leadership.

"When Lenin died in January, 1924, the foundations of Socialist agriculture had not yet been laid," as Anna Rochester points out. From there on, under Stalin's leadership, and through the Five-Year Plans, the struggle for collectivization was carried on, the ties with the middle peasants were cemented, and the kulaks were liquidated.

By 1936 Stalin could say:

"Our Soviet peasantry is an entirely new peasantry. We no longer have landlords and kulaks, merchants and usurers to exploit peasants. Consequently our peasantry is a peasantry freed from exploitation. Further, the overwhelming majority of our peasantry is collective farm peasantry, *i.e.*, it bases its work and its possessions not on individual labor and backward technique but on collective labor and modern technique.

"Finally, the economy of our peasantry is not based on private property but on collective property, which grew up on the basis of collective labor. As you see, the Soviet peasantry is an entirely new peasantry, having no counterpart in the history of mankind."

The struggle for these objectives was fought and won in struggle against the Trotskyite and Bukharinite camp of saboteurs and spies.

The agitation conducted by these elements against the building of socialism, against collectivization, for "peaceful" co-existence with the kulaks found an eager response among the capitalist elements in the country, especially among the kulaks, who were encouraged to terrorist acts against the collective farmers and collective farm property. Evidence brought forth at the trials of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite traitors showed indelibly that their practices were part of a well-worked out program of espionage and diversion against the Soviet Union The sympathy they found in kulak ranks, and the encouragement they lent to kulak terrorism were no accident.

* * *

* *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

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Anna Rochester's book is extremely valuable for the important theoretical questions on which it focuses attention. These include the questions of ground rent and nationalization of the land.

The citations from Lenin in the present volume on ground rent (pp. 182-189) are invaluable for an understanding of agriculture under capitalism.

The political struggle by Lenin over the question of nationalization of the land, "black redistribution," municipalization, was, as Anna Rochester shows, a struggle for the destruction of feudal and feudal-capitalist land-ownership, to clear the road of all social obstacles that blocked the development of agriculture. The fundamental character of the struggle is indicated by the fact that one of the first acts of the new Soviet government was the decision on Nov. 8, 1917, to abolish landed proprietorship, ending once and for all time feudal land relations and, under conditions where large-scale industry and political power were in the hands of the working class, opening the doors to socialist agriculture.

Anna Rochester's book contributes practically to resolve some important domestic war issues:

By its effective presentation of the Leninist teachings on the agrarian question, the book lays bare the contradictions of agriculture under capitalism. These contradictions are today a lever by which the defeatists seek to create disunity and disruption of the war effort.

The book describes the development and functioning of the machine and tractor stations in the Soviet Union. Today the reduced production of farm machinery in the United States, the difficulty of buying or making repairs, make it necessary, as Earl Browder has pointed out, for the United States "to learn something from the Soviet Union, not by any program of collectivization, but by copying one of their techniques." This technique, he adds, would involve the establishment of a "federal system of machine repair centers" and the "practical pooling of agricultural machinery and its fullest possible utilization."

The book will contribute toward an increase in the growing understanding of our great Soviet ally, an understanding which is vital for the achievement of the fullest cooperation of our own country and the Soviet Union for victory over Hitlerism and for post-war reconstruction.

Comrade Browder has suggested four agricultural problems in which government intervention is an immediate necessity for mobilizing the fullest resources of our agriculture. They are: the question of farm manpower, machinery, marketing services, and marketing . . . in the war-time sense of fixed prices."

On all of these issues Anna Rochester's book, through its Leninist analysis of capitalist agriculture, makes a valuable contribution.

One lesson woven into the fabric of Lenin's work and reflected in Miss Rochester's book is the relation of the working class to other classes in capitalist society, particularly the farming population. To-

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day, when the misbegotten and misnamed "farm bloc" has become one of the chief weapons of the defeatists and the disrupters of national unity, an aggressive fight by the working class for alliance with the working farm population is one of the keys to maintaining and strengthening national unity. The understanding of this lesson by American labor is today a survival issue, one which has been too long and too dangerously delayed. Miss Rochester's whole book contributes immensely to that understanding.

In *Lenin and the Agrarian Question* Miss Rochester has provided us with a volume of permanent value and importance. Her contribution deserves wide utilization in theoretical equipping of the working class and its allies on the farms.

Lenin on the Agrarian Question is another of the many valuable contributions that Anna Rochester has made to the education of the American working class. In addition to many pamphlets published over a period of years, Miss Rochester's Marxist studies of American economic problems include *Why Farmers Are Poor,* the most competent survey of the agricultural scene, and *Rulers of America,* a detailed survey of the dominant forces in American finance capital.

The present volume on Lenin's agrarian teaching, together with *Why Farmers Are Poor,* constitutes a veritable treasure for heightening the Marxist understanding of the problems of rural America.

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